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(1691—1781)

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MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS

DURING THE

XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES

SELECTED FROM HITHERTO INEDITED MSS.

BY

WILLIAM FORBES LEITH, S.J.

VOLUME I

THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES I

1627-1649

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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INTRODUCTION

A VERY homely proverb tells us that no man knows where the shoe pinches, better than he who wears it. However soft to the touch the leather is shown to be, however high the repute of the maker, no argument derived from the evidence of others can outweigh the statement based on personal experience.

We have heard the history of religion in Scotland from many a friend of the Covenant, from many an admirer of the Royalists, but a personal narrative of the sufferings endured by the members of the ancient faith has not been put before the world.

The letters here printed were written from Scotland during the worst times, by men who were bearing the extremity of the persecution. We hear at first hand of the courage, patience, resource, and religious fortitude, with which large numbers of Scots bore for generations trials which are without a parallel for severity and protraction, even in the annals of our strong and long enduring nation.

In a previous volume of *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*[1] their history has been traced in the days of Mary Stuart and of King James VI. The documents now printed illustrate their troubles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a period during

[1] *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, Edinburgh, 1885.

which their interesting history has been too often ignored, amidst the momentous conflicts of the Crown, the Covenant, and the Parliament.

The majority of the letters which follow were written by the Jesuit missionaries in Scotland to the General of their Society in Rome. Some were actors in or witnesses of the events described. In other cases the letters were written abroad by a superior or representative, who had retired for the nonce to the Continent, where he could transact business with less fear of his letters being intercepted. None of these men were thinking of history or publication when they wrote. They recorded the daily life of the Scottish Catholics just as it passed before their eyes.

It should be noted, however, that these correspondents even when abroad were far from being truly free to write as they would under similar circumstances nowadays. They hardly ever dare mention the names and abodes of their principal friends. This may in part no doubt be accounted for by other reasons. The missioners had got so used to reticence in Scotland that they could hardly break themselves of their cautious habits after they had gone abroad; and again there was the difficulty of turning Scottish names into Latin, or of giving them significance to the eyes of foreigners. But this explanation does not go very far, for we find that in letters written from other distant missions, from India, China, etc., the names of stations and men of importance are always regularly given.

The dangers of Scottish missioners were serious even on the Continent because of the multiplicity of English newsagents, who should often more correctly be described as spies, and who especially frequented

places like Paris, Rome, and Venice, then the chief exchanges (as we might say) for the news of the world.

Information regarding the papists at home was always being offered for sale to the English Government, and it was not so difficult to obtain a sight of "Annual Letters," which circulated in the Jesuit colleges, and selections from them were published from time to time. It would not surprise me at all to find, that the "Annual Letters" about Montrose (vol. i., pp. 281-358) had already in this way become partially known. Several incidents regarding his campaigns, which are narrated by our historians, may originally have been derived from the papers now first published in full.

Whilst, therefore, we have to lament the too frequent omission of heroic names, we must acknowledge that this caution is in itself a sign of the times and a mark of genuineness, not of ignorance or unreliability.

The originals of these letters are for the most part preserved in a volume with the title *Scotia*, now preserved in the Stonyhurst Archives; and it was consulted there by Dr. George Oliver nearly eighty years ago, as his citations prove.

Some other letters are preserved in Jesuit archives abroad. They are all written in Latin, and in translating them I have aimed at a simple and uniform style rather than at reproducing the sometimes crude attempts to be classical, which were so usual in those days.

The writers in this first volume are all Jesuit Fathers, who may be identified in Dr. George Oliver's *Collectanea* and other works of the same kind. They

were mostly chaplains in the houses and castles of Catholic noblemen and gentry, and a table of them for two years, 1628 and 1703, may not be unwelcome.

In the year 1628—

Father William Leslie generally resided with the Earl of Errol.
Father Stickell with the Earl of Huntly.
Father James Macbreck lived at Seton with the Earl of Wintoun.
Father Robert Valens resided in Edinburgh with the Earl of Abercorn.
Father George Christie with the Countess of Linlithgow.
Father John Macbreck was on intimate terms with King James during the last years of his life, he was also Confessor to the French Ambassador.

In 1703—

Father John Gordon resided with the Laird of Garleton.
Father James Innes with the Earl of Nithsdale.
Father Hugh Strachan with the Laird of Auchinhove.
Father James Seton with the Countess of Dunfermline.
Father William Leslie with his brother, Count Leslie of Balquhain.
Father John Innes with the Countess of Seaforth.

It is to be regretted that we do not know more about the lives of these religious heroes. The letters and memoirs here printed form their best, perhaps their only monuments. Of none of them do we possess a portrait. Yet as we look at the pictures of the now ruined castles, halls, and towers, in which they once lived, sometimes as chaplains, sometimes as prisoners, we can realise how Spartan, even at the best, their lives must have been, how unendurably oppressive, when incarcerated in them, the victims of the religious passions of those days.

In an Appendix will be found a series of chronological notes of the legal proceedings adopted against Catholics, which proceedings Pitcairn considered as

"forming a prominent part of the ecclesiastical and political history of the country."

The editor gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance he has received from the Rev. John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., in revising and passing the volumes through the press.

W. F. L.

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MEMOIRS OF SCOTTISH CATHOLICS

CHAPTER I

THE STORM GATHERS

Introductory Note

The worst weakness of which the Scottish Catholics were guilty, at the time of the overthrow of the ancient faith, was attending at Protestant services, and even sometimes receiving their sacrament (p. 17). It was only in 1617 that a powerful and efficient reform of this abuse was introduced, and by God's help things thenceforward began to improve. The close of King James's reign, and the accession of King Charles, were times of unwonted quiet for the Catholics of both realms. This was partly due to the royal marriage with a Catholic princess (May-June 1625), partly to the intercession of ambassadors, and other friends (pp. 12 and 21), where Father Macbreck claims some of the credit for this. During the years 1626, 1627, the Scottish Catholics are said to have enjoyed "almost complete liberty of conscience" (pp. 10, 22, and 25).

But during the year 1628 a storm was gathering. Some Catholics had been imprudent. They published a libel upon their opponents in the affair of Walter Baird (p. 20). King Charles, too, employed some Catholic nobles, especially the Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Nithsdale, in his very unpopular measures for claiming Church property in 1627 (p. 25). Extreme measures of resistance were now discussed by the Protestant party (p. 29). The ministers were the first to advocate violence, which the nobles originally opposed (pp. 23 and 30), but to which both finally agreed. Charles was urged to put the persecuting laws into force, and the third application to

him was successful (p. 33), though even so he did not go so far as the Council desired (p. 36).

The Catholics only heard of the impending blow shortly before it fell (p. 37). By December 1628, the storm burst. There were violent searches everywhere, especially at Aberdeen in the North, while Sir John Ogilvie was imprisoned in the South.

Letter of Father William Leslie[1] *to the* General of the Society of Jesus.—*Stonyhurst* MSS., *Vol. Scotia.*

22*nd June* 1627.

Very Reverend Father,
Pax Christi.

I received this month your Paternity's letter of the 7th of January last, at the same time with another written on the 10th of April. I had previously sent your Reverence a full description of the condition of our affairs, and of the Catholics of Scotland, and despatched copies through France and Holland, and am surprised it had not reached you

[1] Father William Leslie was born in Aberdeenshire, but educated abroad. He was sent to the Scottish Mission in 1617. His arrival may be regarded as opening out a new era in the Mission work, as till that time there had been but two Jesuit Fathers in the Highlands and two in the Lowlands. "There are only four of us, in all this kingdom," he writes, "and we have almost more work on our hands than we can attend to. The Catholic religion is in great peril for want of men, and it would be sad if a nation, which has flourished for so many centuries with the integrity of its Faith inviolate, should fall away now under the assaults of heresy." In 1628, as many as ten missionaries were employed, and their number increased from that date. Father Leslie was for some time their Superior, and usually resided with the Earl of Errol, the Constable of Scotland. Father William Leslie died at Douay 12th April 1639.—Cf. *Collections towards illustrating the Biography of Scotch, English, and Irish Members, S.J.*, by George Oliver, D.D.

when you wrote. I send this also through Holland, by two different routes, to Father Rob. Father John Macbreck joined us from England in Lent last year. In December he was taken prisoner at Dundee by the pseudo-Bishop of Brechin, and detained at Edinburgh until the present month of June. He has now been dismissed by order of the Council, with the approbation of the King, and is to go at once into exile to Father Rob in Holland. On arrival, by God's help, he will send your Paternity a full narrative of his adventures. I can, however, with a clear conscience declare to your Paternity that what he has done for the faith up to his departure, has, thank God, given the greatest consolation to Catholics, and extorted the praise and admiration even of our opponents.

He will tell you his adventures and all about our affairs, with regard to which I have supplied him with full information. There are many things which it would not be safe for me to write, but he can do so safely abroad, and so will my brother Andrew, who proceeds to Belgium to enter on his novitiate. Their places here are to be supplied by Fathers James Macbreck and Elgin, whom Father Rob has despatched, and who have already arrived. We judged it better not to increase our numbers this year, till we see how things will turn out. I have a strong opinion that none should be sent to this country until they have previously been thoroughly trained in the duties of the Society. The better they are prepared, the better they will sustain our name and reputation, which just now stand very high. Colonel Semple's gift was most acceptable, especially in these hard times. I beg you will thank him. I have done so on the former occasions, and I hope he will take measures to make

his bounty perpetual. Our George Mortimer departed this life last year (as I wrote before). He died on the first of October, at four in the afternoon, fortified with the Sacraments of the Church, and in the presence of Father Stickel and myself. He is much and widely regretted, and has left the memory of his singular zeal for souls, as an example to those who survive him.

I am now visiting the Fathers in their several provinces, for the renewal of the vows, and other customary duties. We are only nine in all, not including Macbreck, who is on the point of leaving. These are excellent—Stickel, Valens, Christie the younger. Would that we had many such.

I have often requested your Paternity, but without response, to obtain for us a dispensation for persons who marry within the second degree of consanguinity or affinity. I beg you to obtain this favour from the Holy See. If not, we shall have lost all our labour in the case of persons so situated. For many reasons, which I cannot very well write, our mission is a most difficult one, and I think Father Rob should come over next year to see things for himself. Meantime I commend myself and my companions, together with all this Mission, to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Paternity.

Your unworthy son and servant in Christ,

WILLIAM LESLIE.

From SCOTLAND, 22*nd June* 1627.

Letter of FATHER JOHN MACBRECK[1] *to the* GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.—*Stonyhurst* MSS.

7-17*th April* 1628.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

I have been several months out of prison, but could not get to this country until now, being detained by a long and obstinate sickness, which I contracted from the squalor of my prison, and when I moved into better air, I was in greater danger still, and being very long recovering my strength I did not venture to travel for some time. Being now quite recovered, praise be to God, I have arrived safely in Belgium, though with much difficulty, all the roads being closed to travellers by the tumult of war. I remain here till I know the will of your Paternity as to what I am to do, and where to go. I passed six months and more in the severest confinement, and was sentenced by the King's letters to be hanged; but the

[1] John Macbreck or Mambrecht came to Douay on 2nd September 1607. "After serving the mission for some years, he was called to London to be confessor to the French embassy, a situation that he filled with credit to himself and to the Society for a year and a half during the latter part of the reign of James I. and the beginning of Charles I. This office procured him an introduction to the Court, and he says, in a letter dated Antwerp, 7th April 1628, that King James had treated him with much kindness." *Jacobo Regi familiarissimus per annum fui, etiam illi notus ut Societatis.*

Retiring from the Court, he returned to the Scotch Mission, in the Lent of 1626. In December the same year he was apprehended at Dundee by the Bishop of Brechin, and committed to Edinburgh gaol. Father William Leslie, in a letter of the 22nd of June 1627, says of him, that this prisoner had conducted himself so well in the cause of religion, as to leave the realm with satisfaction and comfort to the Catholics, and with the recommendations and admiration of their enemies. His subsequent history is obtained from p. 161 of Drew's *Fasti Societatis Jesu*, printed at Braunsberg, 1723. It relates his retirement into Poland, where in 1641 he preached in Italian at the Court of the King of Poland.—Oliver's *Collections.*

Queen and the Countess of Buckingham, the Duke's mother, interceded for me. I escaped this glorious end, to my own loss, and with great grief, but I hope the good God has only postponed this favour, not finally deprived me of it, for from my earliest youth to this day I have prayed the most merciful God to crown my labours with martyrdom. During all those six months no one was permitted to come to me, nor my friends to write to me: pen and paper were kept from me: no book to while away the time, though by a singular favour my Breviary was left me, my only solace, and the cross which hung from my neck. I was shut up in a dark and narrow cell, with one window, closed with an iron grating so as scarcely to admit the daylight; three doors fastened me in. The gaoler came twice in the twenty-four hours, and brought me just food enough to support life. Many interesting circumstances occurred, though too long to write, both in discussion with the principal ministers and pseudo-bishops of the heretics, at the beginning of my captivity, and later on, in my examinations before the Council. After I was put under arrest, I was kept for a month in the house of the same archbishop who had put Father Ogilvy to death, and he treated me very kindly. He alone of all the Protestant bishops—God so ordering it, and by the intercession of the Blessed Father Ogilvy—shows great favour to Catholics, and often sent his servant to visit me in prison. I was set free at length, and sent into exile, ample time being allowed me to go away, a favour never hitherto granted to any other. In the meantime, while I await the pleasure of your Paternity, I am labouring with the advice and assistance of the Fathers here, to obtain from the Infanta the liberty of some or all of the wretched Scots

who have been taken prisoners at sea and are kept in chains at Dunkirk—there are not many of them. The royal Council desired me to do this when they gave me my liberty, and I promised to use every exertion. Indeed, the archbishop, whom I have already mentioned, fairly acknowledged that if I could obtain their liberty I might, in that case, without fear return to Scotland. It will be of great advantage if I succeed, both because Father Robertson is in prison in Scotland, and it will be an inducement to them to give him his liberty, and moreover it will stop the mouths of our enemies, who are always barking at us, and call us rebels and enemies of our country; and it will put our brethren in good odour with the heretics, when they see us returning good for evil and liberty for chains. And I entreat your Paternity to enjoin upon the Fathers at Brussels by your authority, that they may deign to afford me their aid and countenance in this matter.

A Brief Description of the State of the Scottish Mission.

As regards the state of our Mission meantime, by the favour of God, things go on sufficiently prosperously. There are only eight Fathers of our Society, and two more on the road, Fathers John Leslie and Robert Mortimer. All are labouring vigorously. Father Elgin was considered unfit for so difficult a Mission on account of his feeble health, and returned to Belgium, whence he had come. Father Robertson is still in prison. Father William Leslie is the Superior in Scotland. He generally resides with the Earl of Errol, the Constable of Scotland, and goes out in summer to other Catholic families, and visits our Fathers. He was an excellent worker while his health

permitted, but for some time past is so ill with the stone that last year he was sometimes laid up, and in great danger of his life. He is altogether unequal to the huge labour of Superior of so difficult a Mission, and would gladly be relieved from it, as he told me he had written to your Paternity. Father Patrick Stickel always resides with the Marquis of Huntly, the head of the house of Gordon, and labours actively, makes excursions mostly in the neighbourhood, and every year brings back many to the faith. He brought about an event last year, which occasioned great joy to Catholics and much vexation to heretics—he concluded a marriage between the son of the Marquis of Huntly and the daughter of the Earl of Errol. They are the two most powerful families of Scotland, both Catholics, but were divided by a fierce and mortal hatred. At length, by the exertions of Father Stickel, who laboured at it much and for a long time, the quarrel was put an end to by an auspicious marriage, the ill-feeling was forgotten, and the friendship cemented by visits and embraces on both sides; so that the pseudo-bishop of the place, in a public address at Aberdeen, rhetorically complained that one Jesuit priest had effected what the King, what the Council of the kingdom, what the ministers and bishops themselves, had been unable to bring about. Father William Christie is an extraordinary and untiring labourer. He is always at his work, and on excursions, and has no settled residence. God wonderfully favours his exertions, and he has brought so many to the unity of the faith that in this respect, none of ours can equal him. He has brought more than four hundred people to the faith since he came to Scotland two years and a half ago. These three are labouring for the faith in the north of Scotland.

Father James Seton and Father John Stephen are working in the provinces of Angus and Fife, near the middle of Scotland. Seton serves the mission much better than he did at first. He now sets a good example to all, and brings many to the faith every day. He has gained wisdom from experience. At first he used to live too much with his parents and relatives, who are principally heretics, without much good result. The ministers and pseudo-bishops persecuted him in the first instance by summoning him to appear before them and defend his faith; and then they excommunicated him. He now keeps mostly in Catholic families, where he works with results which he has no reason to regret. He has now on his hands the Baron Ogilvie, chief of the Ogilvie family, with whom I had much intercourse and correspondence, because he was related to me by marriage. I was to have received him into the Church, and the day of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin was appointed for the reception, but I was obliged to leave, and with Lord Ogilvie's consent the same day was appointed for Father Seton to enrol him among the Catholics. I have not heard what was done.

Father John Stephen is at work in the same neighbourhood, but now more frequently at Aberdeen, where there is a tolerably large mission much attached to our Society. This winter he went to Belgium with ten young men to supply the falling off in the number of students at the seminary at Douay, and I have heard he was gone to Spain and is now on his way back to Scotland. James Mackbreck, my relative, lives at Seton with the Earl of Wintoun, the head of the Seton family, and is dear to all. He educates the Earl's sons and heirs in the Catholic faith and piety, and works

with much fruit, though like a new athlete he has not yet come forward publicly in the arena, nor does he as yet go out much. Father Robert Valens is stationed for the most part either at Edinburgh, or with the Earl of Abercorn, of the family of Hamilton, a most constant Catholic, or with the Earl of Angus, head of the house of Douglas,—both were known to your Paternity at Rome. He is more anxious to retain Catholics in the faith already received than to bring in wanderers from without, yet he lives with fruit and good example among Catholics. Lastly, Father Christie the elder is lying hid in the house of the Countess of Linlithgow in a sort of perpetual prison (except that his imprisonment is voluntary) and has scarcely once left his room, much less the house, for six months. The Earl is a most obstinate heretic, and the excellent Catholic lady keeps the Father in her house secretly, without her husband's knowledge. So much briefly of individuals.

On the whole, praise be to God, the number both of workers and of Catholics increases daily, so that there is a visible change, both in the temper of the people generally, and in the zeal and fervour of the Catholics, compared with some years back; and if your Paternity favours our efforts, which we do not doubt, since we know how much your Reverence has always the welfare of our Mission at heart, we hope for greater increase every day, for it is now necessary to strengthen our work that it may be enduring and progressive. It would be no slight advantage if the Spanish pension was made perpetual, for hitherto it has done us more harm than good, because it has come to the knowledge of Catholics that such a thing has been obtained and settled on us, and yet most years we do not get it at all; while they contribute little or nothing to our sup-

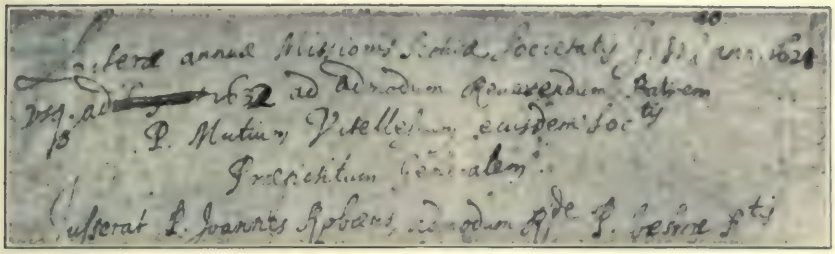
port, thinking we are otherwise provided for. On the other hand, the good Colonel Semple, with too great solicitude and restless ingenuity, is perpetually contriving new methods of settling this affair, and changing his mind again next day, or next year. On this account it is important the business should be definitely concluded —for he is nearly eighty years of age, and might die before anything is done—in order that provision may be made for the future. I will write and ask him to do this myself.

Another absolutely necessary measure is that we should have some fixed place, in France or in Belgium, separately or in conjunction with others of the Society, it does not much matter which, where our veteran workers can rest from their labours, and recover their strength, and where the new ones may be instructed for two whole years at least in their final studies, before they descend into the arena. For our Fathers, whether French or Belgian, are very reasonably unwilling and unable to attend to the wants of others, beyond their own numbers. While there are various means and resources for the establishment of such a place of refuge, of which the best and most eligible could be selected, they could not well be set forth within the compass of a letter, in such a way as to do justice to the subject, or appear conclusive. Besides, the whole state of this Mission, with the means for preserving and increasing it, of aiding its efforts, of giving it permanence, and of removing the daily and numberless hindrances which impede its action, since it is almost, not to say quite, the most arduous and difficult one in charge of our Society—requires to be maturely considered, that our mission may not remain always, what it has hitherto been, hidden in the dust. All this

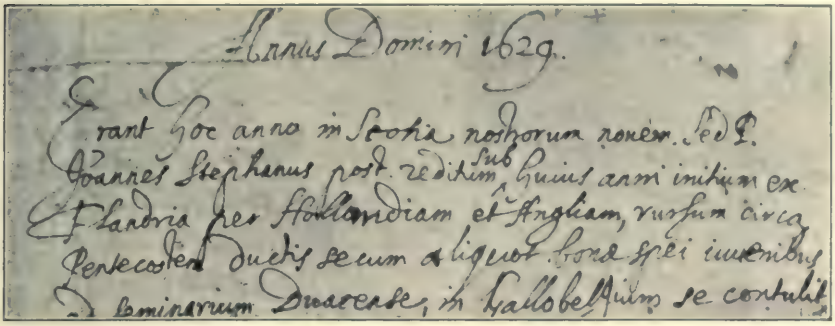
would require a volume, not an occasional letter, to be addressed to your Paternity.

If therefore it seems good to you, since I cannot immediately return to Scotland without danger, and am nearly useless here, I will come to your Paternity and explain the state of the Mission, which I am well acquainted with from sufficiently long experience, and I think my doing so would produce no little benefit. I have written thus much by command of your Paternity and my Superiors, to convey a sort of introduction of the subject in brief outline. I could also at the same time, what had nearly escaped my memory, explain in your presence an unjust charge brought against me, and of which I am innocent, by our English Fathers while I was in London. This I could do with excellent reasons, and show that I acted not only to the honour of our Society, but to the great increase of the Catholic faith, while I was with the ambassadors of France, during which time I was confessor to four successively in a year and a half; and that I even obtained from King James, with whom, though he knew I belonged to our Society, I was on intimate terms during the last year of his life, royal letters addressed to both Councils, in Scotland and England, and to all the bishops and states of the kingdom, in which all persecution of Catholics was prohibited until further orders from the King. The result was that we had peace till the King's death, and I effected the release of nearly twenty priests from prison without sentence of exile.

All these events cannot be told in detail in a letter, as their importance deserves, but they are highly interesting and beautiful, worthy of the Annual Letters, and indeed of being printed in our Histories. Meanwhile,

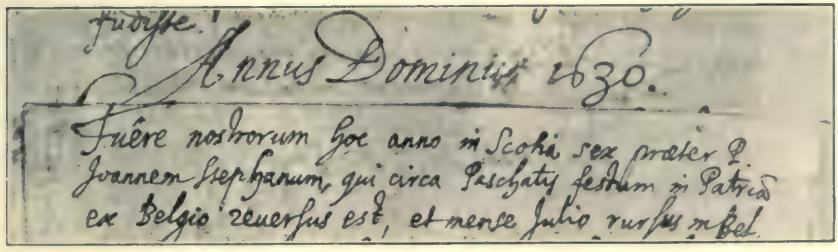


Literæ annuæ Missionis Scotiæ Societatis Jesu anni 1628
missæ ad admodum Reverendum Patrem
P. Mutium Vitelleschi eiusdem Societatis
Præpositum Generalem.
Scripserat P. Joannes Robaus, eodem die quo P. Jesuæ suæ



Annus Domini 1629.

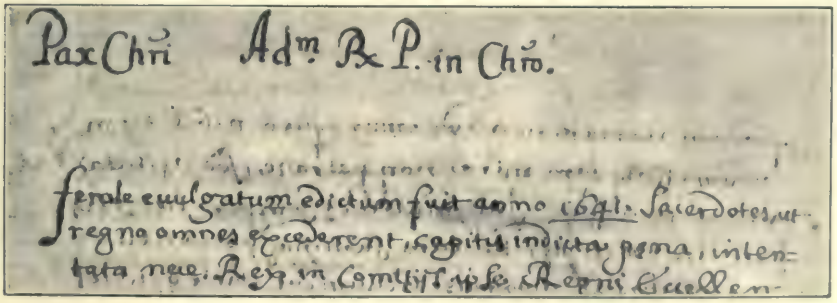
Erant hoc anno in Scotia nostrorum novem. Sed P.
Joannes Stephanus post reditum sub huius anni initium ex
Flandria per Hollandiam et Angliam, rursum circa
Pentecosten ductis secum aliquot bona spei iuvenibus
Seminarium Duacense, in Gallobelgio se contulit



fuisse.

Annus Domini 1630.

Fuêre nostrorum hoc anno in Scotia sex præter P.
Joannem Stephanum, qui circa Paschatis festum in Patriâ
ex Belgio reversus est, et mense Julio rursus in Bel-



Pax Christi Admodum Reverendo Patri in Christo.

ferale evulgatum edictum fuit anno 1641. Sacerdotes, ut
regno omnes excederent, capitis indicta pœna, intentata nec. Rex in Comitiis ipse Regni Scotiæ

HEADINGS AND FIRST LINES OF FOUR ANNUAL LETTERS.

(See pp. 18, 42, 82, 229.)

From the originals at Stonyhurst College.

as your Paternity shall judge best in our Lord, whether for me to return to Scotland or come to Rome, I shall await the will of your Paternity equally prepared for either decision, and desire to be earnestly commended to your most Holy Sacrifices.

Your humble servant in Christ,

JOHN MACBRECK.

ANTWERP, *7th April* 1628.

ANNUAL LETTERS OF THE SCOTTISH MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS FOR 1628 TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER MUTIUS VITELLESCHI, SUPERIOR GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY.—*Stonyhurst* MSS.[1]

We have been commanded by Father John Rob, in your name, very Reverend Father, to send you a complete account of the proceedings of our Mission in Scotland from the beginning, and he wished this task to be executed as speedily as possible. We have been most anxious to do so, but have hitherto been unable to accomplish it, owing to the difficulties of the times. At any rate I can say so for myself, though it is only quite lately that this task has been entrusted to me. But I am very unwilling our friends should

[1] Father John Leslie, youngest brother of Fathers Andrew and William Leslie, came to Scotland in 1628, and died seven years later, viz., 23rd May 1635. During the last year and a half of his life, he was a great invalid; but no consideration for his health, no apprehension of personal danger, could induce him to retire from his post. In his last illness he had the consolation of being attended by his brother, Father Andrew, who sent a moving and edifying account of his death to the General of the Society. The annual letters of the Scottish Mission, from 1628-1632, were written by Father John Leslie; and are in his own handwriting. In a letter dated 13th June 1633, he says that he wrote them. He mentions them again as forming "the Quinquennial History of the Persecution" in his letter of 30th September 1633. We give first those for the year 1628.

think we have been in any degree negligent of the great interests confided to us, and it is only right to satisfy as far as possible the anxiety they must feel as to our proceedings. I will endeavour therefore to write down a brief narrative of the principal events that have occurred since the 28th year of this century, the year which witnessed the outbreak of a storm of persecution so cruel and unheard of, that those who have not seen it would scarcely believe it possible, and I shall have to include, as I go on, not the fortunes of our Mission alone, but the history of the origin and extension of heresy in Scotland, and the overthrow of the Catholic religion. Meanwhile, the few particulars I now record will, I hope, prove not unacceptable.

A.D. 1628.—There were in this year seven Fathers belonging to our Mission, and their number was increased, before the end of it, by the nearly simultaneous arrival from Rome of Fathers Robert Mortimer and John Leslie. The latter landed in Scotland in the beginning of May, the former towards the beginning of July. On leaving Calais he was by some misadventure conveyed to Holland, where he was recognised as a priest of our Society, and kept some time in prison. He had to pay for his ransom all the money he had received for his travelling and other necessary expenses. And being set free he came to Scotland with Father John Rob, who, though the Superior of the Mission, always resides in Holland. Father Rob came to Scotland to visit the different stations of the Mission, which he does occasionally but not very frequently, and having completed this duty, returned to Holland. With Father John Leslie came Father John Stephen, who had taken nine youths of good promise to the seminary at Douay at the end of the preceding year, and in this year conveyed six

more, of excellent intelligence and disposition, to the same seminary, being at the same time entrusted with other matters of business. He had to go by way of Holland, a long and perilous journey, peace between the kings of France and England not having been at that time restored.

There were several conversions to the Church, but not so many as in former years. There would have been many more than there had been at any other time, but for the storm of persecution, which compelled many who had never yet been Catholics, but wished and intended to become so, and were nearing the harbour of refuge, to drift away again into the whirlpools and shallows of unbelief, and occasioned many not bad Catholics to make a lamentable shipwreck of their faith.

For there arose in this year, 1628, the severest persecution which has been known since the first introduction of the heresy, and it still continues to rage with so much violence and ferocity, that it is certain that the Roman faith cannot continue to exist in this country, unless it is aided and strengthened by some more than human power. The extreme severity of these proceedings, and the great danger which exists of the absolute and utter extirpation of the Catholic religion among the Scottish people, will be better understood, if, before I describe the events as they occurred, I briefly trace them to their original cause.

In doing this I shall not be open to the charge of imprudence, or of evil-speaking, for I shall state only what is commonly and universally known to everybody in this country, and to many people abroad, and my opponents will certainly have no right to

complain of my writing down what they have boasted of doing openly in the face of the inhabitants of two kingdoms, under the persuasion that they have been rendering good service to God and man. They will not reject the praise they have so eagerly sought, and will not think themselves reproached by my relating what they gloried in doing. Nor, if I describe their proceedings, will it be of any avail to suppress their names, for the narrative itself would proclaim them, and anyone who feared to offend them must desist from writing on the subject altogether, and if for this or any other reason we were afraid of their displeasure, such an apprehension would have long since driven us from the country, or deprived us of life. Neither do I hesitate to mention by name those Catholics who have remained steadfast in their faith, for I know this is what they would wish themselves, and the extraordinary firmness and courage they have exhibited demands to be placed on record. It is true that Catholics who remain in concealment cannot be named without risk. These are very few, and they already live under great suspicion, although constantly changing their residence, because the heretics have contrived so many ingenious tests and contrivances for detecting the orthodox under any disguise, that those Catholics who have suffered persecution during the last few years are perfectly well known throughout this kingdom.

I shall not give the names of the lapsed, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so, and in the few cases where it will be necessary, there is no great reason to fear giving them pain or displeasure, and there is even a possibility of its helping to bring them to repentance. But is there not reason to apprehend great danger or inconvenience, in case this letter should

be intercepted? It is very easy, just at this moment, to send this letter safely and expeditiously out of the country; and if one of our Fathers were seized with a letter of this kind in his possession, it could scarcely increase the peril in which we stand. For all priests, and all members of our Society, are already proclaimed enemies of the State, traitors to our country, guilty of high treason, foes of God and religion, and are punished as such. No letters found in our possession can make our situation any worse. Living as we are in continual danger of our lives, seeing what is always going on around us, and only too well aware of the designs and disposition of those who oppose us, we can see no additional danger in any letters we can write or carry, at least for most of us. The apprehension of imprisonment or death has perhaps made us, if anything, too timid, or at least too cautious and solicitous, and I am not disposed to shrink from this additional risk. Besides, I think it important to put on record my reasons for thinking that this persecution is much more severe, and more likely to be permanent and effectual, than people who do not live in this country have any idea of. And lastly, I shall be cautious in what I say, and be careful not to write down anything which the most scrupulous prudence would condemn.

I now return to my narrative. At the time of the change of religion in Scotland, as soon as infidelity triumphed over the true faith, the persecution was so violent that very few had the courage to profess themselves Catholics openly. In compliance with the laws of the parliament, and the tyranny of public opinion, and in consequence of the ignorance, or carelessness, or cowardice, of some of the ecclesiastical order, it became customary with Catholics to attend the

heretical worship on stated days, and once a year, though they did not actually receive what is called the Lord's Supper, they pretended to do so. Taking their places at the table of destruction, and lifting the bread to their lips they secretly let it fall to the ground, and taking the cup of the Calvinists in their hands, made believe to drink, and they did not feel that in doing this they were doing anything very wrong. A great many went still further, when the compulsion was unusually severe, and not only subscribed on oath the Calvinist articles of belief, but received the supper in reality, taking advantage of the remissness of some of the priests, who did not reprove this detestable insincerity and impiety as sharply as they should have done. Thus from the date of the overthrow of religion to the year 1617 there were very few Catholics to be found in Scotland who were not guilty of this compliance, and in the north, where the Catholics were in the majority, it is certain there were not more than eight.

It is therefore not very wonderful that Father William Leslie, who arrived in 1617, and Fathers James Lindsay and Patrick Stickel, who came in the following year, were considered to be too severe, and incurred a great deal of odium (a feeling which was openly expressed even by some religious men), and were not hospitably received, because they maintained that it was wrong to attend the heretic worship even in times of severe persecution. Nevertheless these Fathers, and others who followed them, steadily maintained their position, "in season and out of season, reproving, entreating, rebuking, in all patience and doctrine," and succeeded in freeing many from their unworthy timidity, which excused their dissimulation, and even the desire of compliance. With the increase in the number of our

priests there was a corresponding increase both of the numbers and the constancy and firmness of the Catholics, so that at last those who attended the preaching of the heretics were held not to be Catholics at all, and there were far fewer who partook, in reality or in semblance, of the Calvinist supper. Many fearlessly and openly refused to bring their children to the ministers for baptism, and some refused to be married while the ministers were present and took part in the ceremony, preferring the ministration of the priest. Hardly any refused to receive the priests openly in their houses, and give them friendly entertainment. The priests began now to travel openly and freely in the country, conferred without distrust with their friends or relatives who were heretics, and not bad otherwise. They advanced arguments from Scripture or the writings of the Fathers in support of Catholic truth, and exposed all the errors of the heretics, and answered and confuted the false statements of the ministers against the Roman faith, and silenced their opponents by their writings. The result of all this was that a large number of the heretics abjured Calvinism and entered the bosom of the Church, and a great many more were rendered doubtful in their belief, or simulated heresy solely on account of the fear of risk to their property.

Another circumstance must now be mentioned, which greatly exasperated the heretics, especially their bishops and ministers. About the year of our Lord 1627 a certain Walter Baird, generally known as Wise Walter, was apprehended on a charge of magic, from his having revealed many occurrences which apparently he could not have known by any ordinary means. This man proved that the Bishop of Aberdeen, Patrick

Forbes, was addicted to the practice of the magic art in his own presence; and affirmed that the Catholic religion would be restored within three or four years. Some Catholics took advantage of this to compose a *pasquil* in which they fixed on the year 1630 as the impending crisis of the heretical church, and to this they appended a few lines in verse containing a pointed libel upon a particular minister, and fixed it on the church doors. Protestants were very much incensed at this, but the Catholics openly laughed at their threats, and at the idea of any measures being taken against them.

This plainly indicated a very considerable increase in the number and influence of the Catholics, as well as in their courage and resolution, and the more zealous and obstinate of the heretics, especially the pseudo-bishops and ministers, perceived that large numbers of the people must have fallen away from them, that the confidence hitherto reposed in them was dangerously shaken, and that their sect was evidently falling into neglect and contempt. Their anger and jealousy were roused to the highest point, and they could not help seeing that unless prompt measures were taken, the Protestant cause was ruined, not in Scotland only but in Germany and France as well. A few stray sheep might wander into error without any great harm, but the wholesale conversion to popery which they saw around them, the desertion of their own temples, the thin attendance at their sermons, and the great numbers who never came to their supper, was more than they could endure.

What added to their alarm and anger was that in the lifetime of King James VI.,[1] and at the

[1] James VI. died 27th March 1625.

time when it was hoped that Prince Charles would marry the sister of the King of Spain, the Catholics had boldly and openly proclaimed that they would soon have liberty of conscience; and this hope had been strengthened by two letters which James VI. sent to Scotland somewhat later, and which were obtained by the French ambassador in London at the instance and suggestion of Father John Macbreck, when the marriage of Charles to the sister of the French King was being arranged between the two governments, and the terms of agreement were signed on both sides. The letters were sent by the illustrious Baron John Gordon of Craig, when he first returned from exile.

One of these was addressed by the King to the pseudo-Archbishop of St Andrews, in which he intimated that he would not permit any one to be persecuted for religion, and charged all the bishops, ministers, and clergy, under severe penalties, not to cite any Roman Catholic before their courts, pronounce sentence of excommunication, or molest them in any other way; and if any Catholic should conduct himself with insolence or contempt, the King desired that he might be informed of the particulars, and declared that he would punish the guilty party according to his condition. The other letter was addressed to the Council, and contained a prohibition to pass sentence of treason against excommunicated Catholics,[1] and further rehearsed what had been said to the Archbishop and the other clergy in the former letter, lest the Archbishop should conceal it. Moreover, in these letters all the ministers and preachers were enjoined not to inveigh against the Roman Pontiff or other

[1] *Libellos rebellionis concedere.*

Catholic princes or states in their sermons, but confine themselves to teaching the people the pure word of God from the Scriptures and other ancient writings. These letters were followed by two years of peace and almost complete liberty of conscience, which made the heretics more angry than ever.

A fresh cause of fury was added when King Charles married the sister of the King of France. Some of the Catholics now openly boasted, not only that they would now be treated with lenity, but that the King would shortly abolish the decrees of parliament which were in force against them, and allow every one to live as a Catholic who chose. This expectation openly expressed had the result that the King, receiving a combined remonstrance from the heretic clergy and the Puritan party, made a public declaration that he would allow no change in religion, and that all the acts of parliament passed in his father's time against popery should remain firm and unaltered. Accordingly from the death of James VI., and more especially since the marriage of King Charles, all the ministers and bishops have been incessantly debating in what manner the danger which threatened their religion could be met and averted, and the Roman faith opposed, and if possible entirely destroyed and extirpated in this kingdom.

It seemed to them that to seek out and apprehend all the priests in the kingdom, and commit them to prison, or banish them from the kingdom, would be of very little avail, because for every priest or Jesuit expelled, there were ten ready to take his place, from Italy, France, or Flanders. Something must be attempted on a larger scale to destroy the nests of unclean fowl—a figure they frequently used—in which case the birds would fly away of their own accord, and it would be useless to

try to get rid of them in any other way. The very trees and rocks among which they built must be cut down or overthrown, for it was not with ordinary birds they had to deal, but with the deadliest and craftiest of all species, harpies true to their breed, and worse if possible, and there would without question always be a plentiful supply of them, if they could find a refuge and habitation.

No other plan having suggested itself, all the bishops and ministers, and others who took part with them, agreed by common consent to cut off the principal nobles and more influential Catholics by poison or steel, not separately, but all in one night, or at least too rapidly for any to take warning by the fate of the rest, and the best way to accomplish this was by bribing the domestic servants of these nobles with very large sums of money, to murder their lords in their sleep, all in the same night, or give admission and assistance to other assassins. But since there was an obvious danger that this might lead to a civil war, the result of which might be unfavourable to the object they had in view, they endeavoured to persuade the heretic lords, and especially those of the Puritan party, who were at first horror-struck at such an atrocity, to agree with their views, exhorting and encouraging the timid and wavering by various arguments, threatening those who refused absolutely, and announcing that they would give information against them, and include them among the victims of the massacre.

Still there were many who refused concurrence in such a nefarious scheme, and said what they thought of it, and thus the design gradually came to be known, first in whispers, then more generally as an unauthorised rumour, and at last the whole plan, with the names of

the authors of it, became publicly known throughout the kingdom, the particulars always consistent and agreeing.

This barbarous scheme having been thus defeated by the aid of divine providence, our opponents formed another plan which was only too easy of execution. The acts of nearly all the parliaments of James VI. contain extremely severe enactments against the Catholics, and if these were carried out it would be easier for a Catholic to live in the most savage country in the world than in Scotland. Consequently they turned their whole attention to the means of giving effect to these statutes. In order to do this it was necessary to obtain the firm and unswerving support of the King, if not at first, at any rate in the further prosecution of the design; and to make sure of the King's support they judged it most important to obtain the authority and favour of the Council. They therefore proceeded to bring before the Council continual complaints against the Catholics, filled with every kind of falsehood and calumny.

There were, however, some of the members of the Council, though unfortunately only very few, who believed the Catholic religion to be the only true one, though they did not openly profess it as boldly as they ought to have done. There were also others who were not ill affected towards us, and some who were by their own disposition fond of peace, and strongly disinclined to any severity. The presence of all these lords made it impossible to inaugurate any sudden or violent measure of persecution. There were others again who were unwilling to incur the displeasure and indignation of the Catholic lords, except for some very grave reason indeed; and some who held valuable posts under the

government plainly saw that persecution could be of no benefit to them, and advised that no measures of the sort should be resorted to, or that they should be put off to a more suitable opportunity. These opposing elements proved too powerful for the zeal of the sectaries, and their hatred of the Catholic religion, to overcome, so that at last the heretic clergy were compelled, not without poignant grief and anger, to desist from persecution. The Catholic cause would have remained tranquil and secure, as in the past two years, 1626-1627, if the envy and more than human hatred entertained against it by some of the chiefs and nobles had not raised this terrible tempest against it. The original cause of this hatred must now be traced.

James VI. had reassumed the lands of many religious houses from those who had occupied them, and had "erected" from their revenues, and especially from the finest and richest abbeys and priories, a number of secular lordships, the holders of which had accepted them in fee of the crown, and were called Lords of Erection. These lordships King Charles now determined to recover and take into his own hands. The revenues of the sees remained still almost untouched in the hands of the pseudo-bishops, but even these the King now intended to resume, and instead grant the bishops annual pensions out of the Treasury for their support. This law he required to have passed by the Council and the Lords of Erection, and others who were concerned, and entered on the records, reserving to himself to assign the amount, time, and manner of the compensation which the Lords of Erection were to receive. And he chose for his commissioner for bringing this decree, called the law of revocation, before the Council and the Lords of Erection, and obtaining

their consent as aforesaid, Robert Maxwell, Earl of Nithsdale, a nobleman of great rank and influence, and a firm and uncompromising Catholic. The Earl could not refuse this commission without offending the King, nor could he carry it out without incurring the deadly hostility of the Council and the Lords of Erection. After consultation they determined to station an assassin, a man of great daring and resolution, at the door of the Council chamber, on the day when the decree was to be read, armed with a drawn sword, who was to kill the Earl as he was preparing to carry out the commands of his sovereign, and this was to be followed by a confused encounter of the whole number, fighting with their fists, which would prevent the murderer being recognised and apprehended. The good lord would undoubtedly have been butchered that day, if it had not been for the Marquis of Huntly, who preceded him into the room, the Earl closely following, neither of them being wholly unaware of what was intended. The stern and indignant aspect of this noble old man struck such terror into the murderer that he made no attempt, and the two lords entered the assembly amid the wrath and jealousy of their opponents, which was equally manifested against them both.[1]

The King had also determined to resume the tithes, most of which had been granted by James VI. to the Earls and other nobles of rank, but to sell to the actual and present holders the lands and possessions on which the tithe was paid, to be held in absolute lord-

[1] The fact is related by Burnet. Had the Earl of Nithsdale persevered in his endeavour, an arrangement was made to murder him quietly, and so to settle the matter. The opponents of the Revocation agreed "they would fall upon him, and all his party, in the old Scottish manner, and knock them on the head."—*Cf.* Burnet's *History of His Own Times*, vol. i., p. 27.

ship and dominion, subject to the payment to the Royal Treasury of an annual rent, out of which the stipends of the ministers were to be provided. This was quite satisfactory to the inferior barons, from whose lands the tithes were paid, but very much otherwise to the great lords and the bishops, on whom the King's proposal would inflict serious loss. The cause of the barons and lesser nobility, in opposition to the great lords, was upheld by Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, who was a Catholic by conviction, though not venturing openly to avow his opinions. This led to very embittered controversy, and the anger and hatred of the great lords against the Gordons was carried to the highest point. But the anger of the heretics, arising out of the decree of revocation, extended much further than to the Marquis and the Earl of Nithsdale, and included all the Catholics in the kingdom, who were believed to be ready to follow the standard of the two noblemen, and the odium still further excited by the tithe question fastened upon Lord Gordon, and all the lesser Catholic nobility. It was therefore resolved by common agreement of the whole heretic party, to institute at once a persecution on the largest possible scale and of the severest kind, to crush the inferior Catholic lords, and take vengeance on the commissioners who were to execute the decree of revocation. And they calculated that the proceedings they meditated would so occupy the attention of the King that he would have no leisure to think of tithes, revocation, or any measures of that kind.

Besides the general ground of being a Catholic, there were other causes which rendered the Marquis of Huntly particularly obnoxious to the heretics. He is regular in his observance of the precepts of the Catholic

religion, and the most powerful protector of the Catholic cause, and the number, wealth, and influence of his friends and followers render him extremely formidable to his opponents. He had also incurred the enmity of the Earl of Moray, who is a Stuart, and whose father he killed, though this was done with the authority of James VI., and that King subsequently reconciled them. Also for the opposition which he had offered to the power and authority of those called the King's Lieutenants (*regii locum tenentes ut vocant.*) He is also at feud with the Earl of Mar, of the family of Erskine, for various reasons, and especially this, that the Marquis, and several other nobles and barons, whom the Earl has since subdued and crushed, not so much by law and the course of justice as by craft and violence, were in possession of a large extent of country which they inherit from their forefathers for many generations, but to which the Earl of Mar considers he has a better claim, and a lawsuit arising out of this claim has been in progress for more than twelve years, and is still in litigation. He has nevertheless, becoming himself the aggressor, turned out of possession of the lands in dispute many of these barons who had either a weaker title or less power to resist him, but pretended that he had no intention of disputing the claim of the Marquis of Huntly. When, however, he found that in these cases he obtained a decision in his favour, he threw off the mask and openly announced his expectation of being equally successful in his suit against Huntly. But the Marquis is much too great a man to be dispossessed by any decree of the courts, against his will, and without the use of force, and he is believed to have the King on his side, and it is generally supposed the Earl means to make war upon him, if he

does not quietly submit to the decision of the law and give up the lands in dispute. He will, however, in the first instance try what can be done by craft and address, and as it is known that most of the Catholics, especially in the north of Scotland, are relatives or friends or clansmen of Huntly, Mar became one of the most ardent advocates and promoters of the persecution, with the view of depriving Huntly of the assistance and support of his friends before he ventures to attack the great man himself. He says these friends are the garments next his skin, and having torn them off, he can then flog him to death.

These were the reasons which induced Mar and Moray to join in the persecution; and with them were Sir Thomas Hope, the King's advocate, Sir William Alexander, the Secretary of State, the Earl of Haddington, who is a Hamiliton, the Earl of Menteith, President of the Council, the Chancellor, whose name is Hay, and a number of others. They went by common consent to wait upon the Protestant clergy, and in their presence the noblemen explained their views at great length. They expressed their regret for the opinions they had formerly entertained, and declared that they had come to a resolution to use every effort to persecute and crush the Roman idolators, from hatred of idolatry, zealous love for the spread of their own religion, and lastly, the common interest of the clergy and themselves. They urged upon the clergy to pursue the same course with equal care and diligence. All the parliaments since the reformation of religion had given them more than papal power and authority for coercing papists, and no person suspected of Roman and anti-Christian apostasy need remain any longer exempt from sentence, first of excommunica-

tion,[1] then of rebellion. They need not be anxious about the expenses of these proceedings, because, great as they would probably be, they would be amply repaid from the confiscated property of the papists. What would obviously tend to the promotion of piety, to the honour and advantage of the nobility, to the King's undying renown, to the increase of the reformed religion, and lastly to the glory of the Divine Majesty, ought not to be hindered by any want of energy and courage on their part, any fear of large expenditure, any favour or friendship, any animosity or resentment for former rebuffs they might have received from the lords, any love of ease or fear of danger or inconvenience to themselves.

But these arguments, and others of similar tenor, had no effect in persuading the clergy, who had never forgotten the affronts formerly offered them by the nobles, to join in any movement against the Catholics. They did not see any reason why they should set the whole kingdom in conflagration at the will and pleasure of a set of turbulent nobles, who sought nothing but their own advantage and an excuse for war and bloodshed. Their zeal for religion and hatred of idolatry ought to have stimulated them to these measures of persecution at an earlier period, when there was little or no opportunity or risk of insurrection and loss of life, and not at a juncture when the nobles seemed much more ready and anxious to fly at one another's throats than to take measures to suppress the worship of idols. No such measures were likely to be success-

[1] To this "Excommunication," civil penalties were attached, such as imprisonment, banishment, and other injuries, *v.g.*, Paisley Town Council Records, under date January 24, 1622, contain the following:—"Enacted, that no houses be let to persons excommunicated, and that none entertain them in their houses, under the pain of £10."

ful which were undertaken from other motives than a sincere desire of obedience to the laws of God.

Thus the ministers declared themselves at first entirely averse to any measures of persecution, not out of any benevolence towards us, but from jealousy and resentment against the men who urged them. Yet in time the bishops were led to join actively in effecting the complete ruin and destruction of the Catholic party, not so much by the repeated solicitation of the nobles, as by their own innate hatred of our religion.

The first step was an application made to the Council, where the heretics are strongly in force—for there are few Catholics who have the right of speaking, and these are either not very firm in their faith, or they seldom attend—for an enquiry into the recent revival and growth of popery, of the danger of the depravation of the reformed religion, and the manifest peril to the peace and good government of the realm from the extension of the Roman faith, and by what means these dangers could be met and counteracted. This motion was eagerly prosecuted and carried, and the pseudo-clergy were so much in earnest about it that, not considering the letter addressed by the Council to the King sufficient for the purpose, they deputed one of the bishops to proceed to London and urge their cause before the King and Queen, and demand the facilities they required for anticipating and frustrating the designs of the Catholics, all subscribing in proportion to their means for the payment of his expenses. He was also to bring the subject to the notice of the English Parliament, which was then sitting or about to sit, in order that a comprehensive plan might be devised to extend the persecution to the Catholics of England and Ireland, and provide that the war against

the Catholics of Scotland, which was just about to break out, should not be allowed to end until they were entirely extirpated and destroyed. The King read the letter of the Council, and listened to what the pseudo-bishop had to say about the Catholics, but as yet he took no step which was very formidable; either because he had at that time no strong prejudice against the Catholics, or, as seems more probable, because he did not choose to have his sentiments known. He probably thought that by holding out to them hopes of gentle treatment he could lull them into security, and meanwhile by giving the ministers, which he secretly did, permission to harass them by petty persecution, he would be enabled to see whether their progress could be checked by these means, without running the risk of provoking an armed insurrection. If necessary, he could take them unawares and crush them suddenly, before they were aware of the storm which was about to burst upon them.

Whatever may have been the King's sentiments towards the Catholics, he moved too slowly for the zeal of our opponents. They returned to the charge, and declaimed vehemently in the Council and elsewhere about the disobedience of the Catholics to the laws of the parliament, the immense and daily increase of their number, the celebration of Mass in public, armed multitudes traversing the country on pilgrimage, injurious libels on the ministers fixed in public places, secret negociations carried on with foreign countries to the prejudice of the kingdom and of religion, the great multitude of Jesuits and seminary priests sowing tares in the Lord's field, the baptism of the children of Catholics, and the celebration of marriages, by their own priests, and the contempt shown to the authority of the Reformed Church.

Complaints of these and similar grievances were again referred to the Council by our opponents, and by the Council to the King. But the King only ordered that the guilty parties should be summoned to appear on a certain day before the Archbishop of St Andrews, and their names forwarded to himself; and that this pseudo-prelate should endeavour by gentle words to persuade them to make trial of the Protestant religion. In pretended obedience to this command our opponents sent to the King the names of a very few Catholics, that he might not accuse them or himself of too great severity, if he permitted or enjoined the destruction of so small a number, while they would take advantage of the order to exercise their cruelty and violence on a much larger scale. At the same time they perceived that even this could only have the effect of checking and retarding in some degree the progress of the Catholic religion, but would not put a stop to it, unless the King entrusted them with larger powers. So for the third time there was a torrent of complaints and calumnies against the Catholics, addressed both to the Council and the King, the result of which was that a decree was issued by royal authority requiring the archbishops, bishops, and ministers in their several dioceses and parishes, twice every year, to take down the names of all Catholics who refused to attend their sermons and sacraments, and report them by the bishop's commissaries (as they are called) to the King's Council. This was carried out with great diligence and completeness, with the addition of falsehoods and calumny about public masses and profanation of the Sabbath—as they style the Lord's day—by sports and amusements, and others of the same kind, as enumerated above. The members of the Council received all these

complaints, and after listening to the recital of them, and fully debating the question, they resolved to put in execution all the powers which the laws entrusted to them for the destruction of the Catholics and the suppression of our religion.

Accordingly, about Pentecost in the present year, when the judges were about to proceed on circuit to the different towns and districts of the kingdom, a custom which has originated the name of Circuit Courts, they received from the Council power to apprehend and summon certain Catholics before their tribunals; and at Aberdeen, the first place where the assize was held, a great many heretics were cited to appear, and with them some Catholics, who were ignorant of what was intended, because the notices sent them contained no specification of the charge to be brought against them. But the judges, for some reason or other, did not appear on the day named, and they returned to their homes again, and being made aware that some fraud was intended, no Catholics attended the Circuit Courts again.

The Council informed the King of these circumstances, adding the names of the Catholics who had been excommunicated and sentenced for treason, and those of some priests. They added that they had received from the commissaries of the bishops lamentable complaints of the enormous increase of popery, the insolent assemblage of large bands of pilgrims with guns and cannon in different parts of the country, the libels on pastors and professors of the true religion which were affixed in public places, and sometimes printed, to the great dishonour of Almighty God and of His Church, and open contempt of the government of his Majesty now for many years

established in this ancient kingdom, and tending to its destruction and overthrow. They, therefore, prayed him, as an example of the paternal, incomparable, and beneficent system of government now established, to accept graciously the conclusion to which they had come on a consideration of the whole of this matter. All this increase of popery, and defection from the true religion, and the intolerable audacity and insolence of the papists, had its source in the hope of impunity. In many parts of the country the magistrates and sheriffs were notorious papists, and did not carry out the laws against "recusants" at all (they give this name to all the Catholics, but more particularly those who refuse attendance at the heretic places of worship), and possess so much wealth and influence that no one else, however well affected, has any power to interfere without the express order of the government. It was not without just cause, therefore, and not without great regret, that they brought this disastrous state of things to the notice of his Majesty, as worthy of his most serious consideration, that he might command the persons guilty of these offences to be punished according to law, and all magistrates, judges, and other officials who laboured under grievous suspicion of attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, to be removed from office and deposed, until they cleared themselves from that suspicion and gave proof of the sincerity of their profession. They themselves had done all that lay in their power, for they had given ample authority to the magistrates of Inverness and Aberdeen to apprehend and bring before them all persons guilty of the offences aforesaid, but there was no hope of this being successfully done, because the noblemen entrusted with the government

of those districts were either Catholics, or were hindered in the discharge of their duty by the local influence of powerful Catholics. They, therefore, represented to his Majesty that a Lieutenant should be appointed, empowered to enrol the King's faithful subjects in an armed force, under military rule, and charged with the duty of seeking out and apprehending the Catholics, and bringing them before the Council, or the ecclesiastical or secular judges. The Lieutenant and his troops were to be paid and supported from the possessions of the Catholics.

The Council made this application to the King for a Lieutenant, because they plainly saw that the Roman faith was now openly professed by some men of the highest rank and influence in Scotland, a large number of the barons and lesser lords, and a considerable body of the common people, and it was hardly to be expected that they would allow themselves to be robbed of everything they had in the world, without striking a blow in their defence, unless they were coerced by a strong military force. In reply, the King first expressed his approbation of the proceedings of the Council, and thanked them for the precautions they had taken against the spread of popery; and then commanded, that orders should be given to the sheriffs of counties not to prosecute or apprehend all Catholics indiscriminately, but those only who were convicted of some serious offence against the laws, as, for instance, those who had gone on pilgrimage armed, which was forbidden by the law, to certain ruined shrines of the Blessed Virgin, or had had their children baptized by priests, or written injurious libels against ministers, or had been present

at public Masses, or had contracted marriage in presence of a priest to the neglect of the authority of the minister, or who should at any time, by letters or messengers, secretly enter into negotiation with foreign states to the injury of this kingdom or of religion. These were to be apprehended, and the charges against them being enquired into and proved, they were to be punished according to the gravity of their offence and the provisions of the law. If the sheriffs failed in their duty in this respect, or in obedience to the orders of the Council, their names were to be reported to the King, and he would determine what seemed best for the interest of the Church and of the kingdom, either to have the guilty parties punished, or else that the magistrates and their officials, who had neglected their duty, should be dismissed from office. He was to be carefully kept informed of all that went on. This was all the King said, so far as we have any means of knowing; but this moderation was far from being imitated by the ministers, the bishops, and the Council, who, on the contrary, exhibited the utmost cruelty and pride, and resolved upon the most extreme measures against the Catholics, in opposition, as we have every reason to suppose, to the wishes of the King.

Shortly before the storm burst, the vengeance they meditated was in part made known by means of some persons not unfriendly to us, and by various dark and threatening rumours which at this time began to spread among the common people. The Catholics at first disbelieved or disregarded these reports, but the progress of events soon taught them otherwise.

In December of this year the Council, at the suggestion and instigation of the ministers and

pseudo-bishops, strictly charged all the magistrates in town and country to apprehend all Catholics who were suspected, or could be proved guilty, of any of the above-mentioned infractions of the law, as well as all who had been excommunicated for their religion and declared rebels against his Majesty, and bring them under arrest before the Council to be examined and punished according to the provisions of the statutes.

The Catholics of Aberdeen, and the priests who lived among them, were suddenly hunted up by the sheriff's officers, just before Christmas, while they were engaged in their preparation for the festival, and the ministers eagerly lent their assistance, as if they were lictors and underlings of the law. The Bishop of Aberdeen himself is said to have joined in the chase. The search was prosecuted day and night, and not a house, or a remote chamber or corner of a house, not a chest or an oven, escaped investigation. And yet, by the aid of divine providence, with all their industry they discovered nothing. One of our number escaped among the rest, and two other priests, although a military guard was mounted day and night, and the search frequently renewed. In the south of Scotland Sir John Ogilvie, a Catholic of well-known constancy and resolution, was made prisoner by stratagem by the Earl of Menteith, who is a Graham; but he was not charged with being a Catholic—either they grudged us so much honour, or they shrink from the odium of acknowledging it—but with corresponding with foreign nations and governments to the injury of this country, and sending money collected from the Catholics of Scotland to the Emperor, for what alleged cause I know not. But they could prove nothing whatever,

and were put to shame by the exposure of the falsehood of these charges, and the impossibility of framing any other which they could plausibly maintain. Ogilvie was nevertheless kept in prison until the beginning of 1630. After that he was ordered by the Chancellor of the kingdom to remain within the city of Edinburgh, but free otherwise, and after some interval was permitted to return to his home.[1]

On the 15th of July in this year there was published a royal decree prohibiting noblemen sending their sons to pontifical seminaries.

The Calvinist ministers stood in little need of any stimulus to urge them to institute a search for papists, a course to which their own disposition sufficiently inclined them; but they were enabled to quote the King's letter (in opposition to any who complained that their mode of proceeding was unusual) as not only encouraging them to the discharge of this duty, but threatening them with penalties if they neglected it. They were further able to allege that the number of the Catholics was now very great, and it was not impossible that they might assemble a formidable army. This, however, applies principally to the north of Scotland. In the south the activity of the Calvinist ministers was not so great, though they now began to search and enquire into consciences with greater diligence, and endeavoured to find how many had any inclination to the Catholic faith. They would undoubtedly have found many more than they expected, if people expressed their sentiments freely, but most people do not care to let the Presbyterian ministers

[1] Probably Sir John Ogilvie of Craig. See below, vol. ii., Appendix I., Sept. 22, 1631.

know their real feelings on the subject of religion. The common people particularly are ready enough to open their minds freely whenever they come across a Catholic priest, and are earnestly desirous for the restoration of the ancient faith.

CHAPTER II

Two Years of Persecution—1629, 1630

Introductory Note

During the years 1629, 1630, the persecution was developed into a system, and produced the most mournful results. The handful of Jesuit missioners, whose experiences are here recorded, remained much as before, but the numbers of converts was, as might be expected, very small. It was as much as the Fathers could do to comfort the sufferers, strengthen the waverers, and prepare everyone for the impending trials (see p. 44).

The persecutors seem to have begun very systematically by exacting a full and detailed account of the names, residences, and property of all those who kept away from the Protestant services (p. 45). Then came that barbarous orgy of inhuman cruelty, the excommunication (pp. 46, 47). The Catholics were consigned to prison, or turned out of home, and the fire of the hearth dramatically quenched. Women (Lady Jane Gordon and Marjory Menzies are specially mentioned) and children were treated with calculating and remorseless cruelty. It was even believed that the Protestant midwives had been instructed to kill Catholic babes and their mothers (p. 48). Catholic servants of all sorts were cast adrift (p. 50); no debts were paid, no office or profession open, no intercourse with others was permitted them (pp. 50, 51). The soldiery were instructed to trample down their crops (p. 51); even the burial-grounds were closed against them (p. 49). There was talk of imprisoning a great number, but, in spite of domiciliary searches, no priest was actually arrested (pp. 45, 47-70).

Every effort was made to overreach the Catholic leaders, especially the Marquis of Huntly and Lord Lovat (pp. 45, 46). Noblemen of their high standing were exempt from the power of many of the lower officials of the crown, and they might, under ordinary circumstances, have long evaded a conflict with the new laws. So in order to give occasion for some legal offence, Huntly was ordered to under-

take the arrest of Catholics in Inverness and Aberdeen, which was under his rule, and where the ancient faith still counted many followers. Even if he had been willing to attempt it, the task would have been impossible to execute in the time allowed. The result was that after some further transactions the Marquis was proclaimed a rebel, as also was Lord Lovat (p. 46). Then followed a harassing suit at the court of King Charles, which was prolonged for seven months, and it was only on the 8th of August that Huntly got a decision in his favour (pp. 57-60). Somewhat similar was the fate of the Earls of Angus, Argyll, and Lady Abercorn, and of Lord Nithsdale (pp. 59, 60).

The plight of the Catholics of inferior rank was lamentable. Some fled, some offered bribes to their enemies, some yielded to violence, and made with their lips the "confession of faith" which they at heart detested (pp. 52, 53).

In June King Charles himself took action. He had been solicited by both sides, and while not agreeing with either, wished to settle the matter by the exercise of his Royal Prerogative. There is a detailed study of the strong and weak points of his character by Father John Leslie (pp. 60-62), which, coming from a contemporary, is well worthy of attention. Charles's ulterior object was to force Anglicanism on both sides (p. 60); but the interpretation first put upon his royal letters was, that they were a sanction of the new reign of violence against Catholics. Fresh pressure was put upon them, while the Calvinists for the present escaped without difficulty (p. 63).

Especially mean was abuse of the clause in the King's letters ordering that petitions from Catholics should be kept under consideration until the 23rd of July. This evidently meant that during the time up to that date petitions should be freely presented. Instead of this, Catholics, who wanted to come forward, were at once arrested and imprisoned, before their petitions could even be sent in (pp. 63, 64). On the 23rd and 25th of July, therefore, the resolutions taken, instead of being modified by the representatives of the Catholics, were more cruel than ever, and on the 1st of November these new decrees came back with the royal sanction (p. 66).

Thus the year 1629 closed gloomily, and the next year began even worse. Father Christie's letter of this time is indeed pitiful. The missionaries have nowhere to go, nowhere to hide, and not a letter of consolation had reached them for two years (p. 80). The fate of the flock was almost worse. The story of Dame Elizabeth

Maxwell, Lady Herries, and her dying child is too lamentable for words (p. 64). There was a constant exodus of ruined men into exile (p. 65), who would be beggared and imprisoned for life if they returned (p. 66).

In 1630 the Marquis of Huntly, after many difficulties with the Council, obtained from the King a notification of his indemnity, but he was forced to keep in absolute seclusion, so he could not protect his co-religionists (pp. 82-83). More dispiriting still for the Catholics was the part played by his son, Lord George Gordon, who had been brought up at Charles's court, where he had been induced to accept Anglicanism. Lord George was appointed Commissioner to deal with the Catholics, and though their estates would now have fallen to him, he promised not to accept any part of the confiscated property (pp. 84-91). Meanwhile he appointed commissioners to act in his name, who, with insidious pleadings and feigned moderation, tried to persuade those to conformity who still held out. It was a terrible trial; their chief leader had retired, and his son was a traitor to the cause.

Many now fell (p. 91), but there were some examples of rare heroism. Worthy of special note was Elizabeth Garioch, a widow of Aberdeen (p. 92), and John Leslie of New Leslie (p. 94). The year closed with the celebrated fire at Frendraught Castle, 8th October 1630, in which perished John, Viscount Melgum, the son of the Marquis of Huntly, and John Gordon Laird of Rothiemay. The circumstances were such as inevitably throw suspicion on the Calvinist owner of the castle. Now that the Catholic heir to the marquisate was playing the traitor, the loss of the son who stood faithful was widely and deeply felt, and the sad impression was expressed, probably soon after the event, in a ballad which is worth reproducing (p. 110).

Annual Letters for 1629 *addressed to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

There were nine of our Fathers in Scotland in this year. But Father John Stephen, who came back from Flanders, by way of Holland and England, in the beginning of the year, left again about Pentecost to convey some young men of good promise to the

seminary at Douay in Belgium, being also entrusted with other business of the Mission. We were also obliged to send Father William Christie to Rome, to explain the state of religion in Scotland, at the earnest desire and requisition of the Catholics, who insisted on this step, at the risk of losing their benevolence and good-will. Father George Christie, who had passed his seventieth year, and had been fifty years in the Society, exchanged this life for a better at Edinburgh on the 14th of April, receiving the last Sacraments from the hands of Father Robert Valens. He was buried in a cemetery, and on the tolling of the bell there assembled quite a crowd of the citizens and chief men of the place, who paid him this honour according to the custom of this country, as to an unknown stranger who had ended his days among them, at a distance from his own friends and relatives. They would, however, have done no less if they had known who he was.

Our principal work has been exhorting Catholics to constancy, and administering the Sacraments to them. We have not neglected our general confessions and renewals, vows, and other exercises of the Society, the study of religious obedience and desire of perfection. Three children of noble parentage have been baptized with the Catholic rite, one the daughter of a viscount, another the eldest son of a baron, the third the son of a man of high birth and a very firm Catholic. Some general confessions have been received, with great fruit. Spiritual assistance has been rendered to the Catholics in prison. Three young ladies of good family have joined the Church, and give every proof of constancy by their devotion and other virtues.

The Council ordered certain magistrates and great men to apprehend all Catholics residing within their

jurisdiction, and among those who were charged with this duty was the Marquis of Huntly. It had long been an object with the ministers and bishops, as well as some of the earls and other nobles, and nearly all the members of the Council, to depress and diminish, if they could not absolutely crush, the power of this nobleman, and this they had absolutely determined on, both from the desire of overthrowing our religion, and from hatred and ill-will to the Marquis himself. They thought the best way of effecting this was to bring him into displeasure with the King on account of his religion and the protection he afforded to the Catholics, and so to obtain a sentence of treason against him. There was no difficulty in obtaining the assistance of the Council in doing this, and as he is the governor and supreme justiciary in Inverness and Aberdeen, the Council ordered him to apprehend the Catholics in those places. But a pretext to accuse him of treason being what they wanted, they themselves prevented his carrying out the command. First, they allowed only a very few days for compliance, and next they caused public proclamation to be made at Aberdeen of the order of the Council, and the names of the Catholics who were to be apprehended, so that the Catholics, having thus had ample notice given them, had no difficulty in escaping the hands even of their bitterest enemies. This was exactly what the Marquis wished, for he did not choose to apprehend the Catholics, and would not have thought it right to do so, and after they had been thus publicly forewarned, and it was certain that none of them would be found in their homes, he thought he might justifiably, to save trouble to himself, send his officers to enquire for the Catholics and search their houses, and do whatever else was necessary to

enable him to report to the Council that he had diligently and punctually obeyed their orders.

To make his obedience more evident, he desired his deputy at Aberdeen, in whose hands he was accustomed to leave his affairs at that place, to request the bishop either himself to join in the search, in company with the deputy and his officials, or to send some of the ministers as witnesses that the duty had been discharged, and the orders of the Council observed, alleging that he himself, on account of ill-health and advancing years, was unable to undertake the journey, especially in the winter time; and if the ministers noted or suspected any negligence, they could make up for it by their own more careful enquiries. The bishop readily granted these requests in the hope of being able to do the Marquis some injury, and in this he was not disappointed, for the Marquis could not satisfy his unjust judges in the Council of his compliance with their orders, and was accordingly proclaimed a rebel against his Majesty at Aberdeen, principally on the information of the bishop himself.

In order that this sentence might not seem to have been dictated by personal hostility, a similar one was passed against Lord Lovat, on the ground that being Sheriff of Moray he had neglected to obey the order of the Council to apprehend Alexander Leslie of Conrak, whose crime was that he was a Catholic, that he had been married without the aid of a minister, had had his children baptized and received by priests, and had extended hospitality to our brethren, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and other priests, and who had on these accounts been declared a rebel twelve years back. Lord Lovat was himself related to this Alexander, and had been brought up for fourteen years in his

grandfather's house, and according to the custom of this country this association is always the ground of an indissoluble friendship and a kind of fraternal affection between the subject of it and the children and descendants of those who protected him in youth. Moreover, he knew perfectly well that the task had only been imposed upon him from malice, to bring him into a snare, as had been the case also with the Marquis, and he had refused to carry it out. He was only released from his sentence on giving bail to a very large amount that he would in future use all diligence in the apprehension of Alexander Leslie.

The detestation of the heretics for the Catholics was such that they paid no regard whatever to the express pleasure of the King. All that the King had commissioned the Council to do was to send to him the names of such magistrates as should have neglected to carry out their commands for the apprehension of the Catholics. But they now required the Marquis to dismiss from office all Catholics whom he had appointed judges, bailiffs, under-sheriffs, or in any other way preferred, but whom they had excommunicated or proclaimed rebels, their fury leading them to spare no opportunity of giving this nobleman annoyance and vexation.

The plan of apprehending all the Catholics, which had often been tried, proving a failure, the heretics adopted a much severer and more oppressive measure. By the authority and in the name of the royal Council they required all Catholics to quit their houses, and leave them open to the King's officers, who were to place them in charge of certain captains, who were to be maintained at the charge of the Catholics. The Catholics were, therefore, all compelled, under penalty of high treason, to quit their houses, and give up

the keys within one day of receiving notice of the pleasure of the Council, to the King's officers and the captains. Having taken the keys, the officials proceeded to put out all the fires by throwing water on them.

The unheard of and more than savage barbarity and inhumanity of the ministers and bishops was more than ever manifested during this proceeding, for the friends of the Catholics, and even the officials themselves, were moved to compassion, being kind-hearted men, and they implored the bishops and ministers to grant at any rate to sick women and young children a delay of a few days, a single day, even a few hours, when they could not be suddenly removed without evident danger to their lives, but they were refused permission to remain even a moment in any corner of the house. Women of good family were turned out a few days, some only a few hours, before they gave birth to children, and while under great suffering from this cause.[1] This was not the worst of their barbarity. The midwives who were called in to attend them asserted, that they were desired to kill the infants as soon as they were born, and the mothers as well, or at least so injure them that they should never recover their former health and strength; and all Scotland knows that this was actually done, and there are women of rank whose weak state of health makes it sufficiently evident that this was the case. Infants were turned out when at the point of death, the ministers declaring that there were already too

[1] A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* states that "the complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our Scotch Reformers . . . even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman, and child."—(*Edinburgh Review*, xxvi., p. 167.)

many whelps of this description to be found.[1] Many, both men and women, were treated in the same way when suffering from severe sickness and in great weakness.

It is easy to understand what misery and inconvenience the Catholics have had to undergo, living in cabins or in the open air in the hills and forests, for fear of apprehension, and that not only young children but the parents themselves contracted serious illness. One lady, Jane Gordon, wife of the Baron Gordon of Craig, lost her hope of offspring, and another, Marjory Menzies, the wife of Alexander Irvine of Hilltoun, who was carried out of her house in a litter on the shoulders of her friends, while actually in childbirth, has never recovered her health. Her son, a child only a few years old, died without being allowed—what no children of Catholics are allowed—to be baptized by a Catholic priest.[2] Catholics who die excommunicated by the heretics are denied a place of sepulture.

[1] *Cf.* Lecky, *History of Rationalism*, vol. ii., p. 61.

[2] For some years religion in Scotland had begun to wear a flourishing appearance; but now the Protestant bishops raised a violent persecution, according to an order which they had obtained from the King and Council commanding all persons to go to the Kirks, receive the Sacrament, and subscribe to their Confession of Faith, under pain of excommunication, loss of all offices, and confiscation of goods. This order was proclaimed at Aberdeen on the 15th of December. Upon this, the Catholics had recourse to prayer, fasting, and other pious exercises, to prepare themselves for the impending storm, which soon broke upon them. Some of the parsons with the bishop's servants soon broke into the houses of the Catholics and drove them out of the town. Many of them, especially those who were most obnoxious, had absented themselves. They found a gentlewoman called Marjory Menzies actually in labour, and insisted on her leaving the house. She begged to be permitted to remain until she should be in a condition to remove with her three young children, who were in the small-pox. This was not granted. She and the children were carried out into the streets on beds and received into a friend's house. One of the children died of the ill-treatment, and difficulty was made about his burial, because his parents were excommunicated; and as soon as the lady recovered she was driven out of the town.—("Memoirs of Bishop Geddes," MS., Blairs College.)

There are many other examples of the cruelty and ferocity of the heretics which might be quoted. They treated the serving men and women so cruelly that the consequences in some degree recoiled even upon themselves, for all heads of families, Catholic and heretic alike, were severely prohibited from having Catholic servants, especially such as had been excommunicated, in any kind of employment, and the result was that many were compelled to discharge faithful servants all at once, before their engagement had expired, and substitute others who were less fit for their duties and less helpful. Horrible to say, the ministers actually threatened the serving women with being publicly flogged in the market-places or in the villages, and compelled them to leave the towns under sentence never to return. Consequently the country is full of poor Catholics, who were formerly accustomed to earn their living by service, and are now compelled to beg their bread from house to house. In many places there is an absolute prohibition of all intercourse with Catholics who have been excommunicated and proclaimed rebels, not only in ordinary conversation and exchange of hospitality in their houses and the houses of others and in taverns, but even in buying and selling, hiring lodging, exchange, and all other contracts of every kind, and even heretics who break the laws of parliament in this respect are liable to the same penalties as the Catholics. Lastly, Catholics are refused admission to all public offices and appointments whatever, and those who held them are being dismissed.

Catholics not already excommunicated are now receiving the preliminary sentence, and will then receive judgment for rebellion against the King's Majesty. As all the King's subjects are forbidden by

act of parliament to hear Mass, to receive priests in their houses, or frequent any Catholic exercise of religion, and Catholics are required to attend heretic sermons and receive what they call the Lord's Supper, under the penalties of rebellion and high treason, a sentence of rebellion is easily obtained from the Council, by the provisions of the law itself, against any Catholic publicly proclaimed as excommunicate.

Any Catholic who has been excommunicated and declared a rebel, and who remains for twelve months under that sentence, is deprived by statute of all protection from the laws of the country, all his personal property is confiscated to the Crown, and his lands and rents to the superior lord, whether this latter happens to be the King or some other person, such as an earl or marquis. But this year they make over all property whatever, under such circumstances, both real and personal, to the Crown, so that tenants of Catholic landlords, who hold their lands in feu, are strictly prohibited from paying any rent whatever, whether in money or any other mode of payment, to their landlords, but it has to be paid when due to the officers of the King's Treasury. All persons are moreover forbidden under severe penalties to pay any debts whatever to Catholics.

In addition to all this, by the contrivance of the bishops and the Council, soldiers have been sent into the lands of several Catholics to drive away the flocks and herds, trampling down the unripe harvests in their progress; and where the harvests ripen, they send bands of reapers to gather them in the King's name.

This has occasioned immense loss and destruction of property, and in order to lighten and diminish it, where they cannot avoid it, the Catholics in some cases have

bought up their own cattle and their own crops, with very large sums of money, paying the wages of the soldiers and the reapers, and giving security for the payment of the full value to the King or those whom he may appoint. Finding themselves in this way spoiled of their goods in the name of the law, they began to consider whether any remedy could be found. Those who were not as yet proclaimed rebels made up their minds to go into exile in foreign countries, selling all their possessions, or leaving them in charge of the nearest heritors, but this was prevented by the Government, on the plea that they might cause an invasion from abroad, although their only object was to be permitted to live in peace and quiet. A few, very few before the end of this year, surrendered to the heretics, abjured the Catholic religion, subscribed the heretical articles of belief, and promised on oath to attend the sermons and receive the Calvinist Supper, engaging to pay a heavy penalty, to which was added a present security, that they would fulfil these engagements. There are some who, at the setting in of the persecution, or a little before, not being considered obstinate, received merely a warning to attend the sermons and communicate.

Another expedient was to proceed to London and throw themselves on the generosity of the King, entreating for peace and protection in this tempest of persecution, and many of all ranks of the nobility undertook this journey. In particular the Catholics in the north of Scotland combined their counsel and contributions, and sent John Gordon of Craig, a man of great energy and activity in any business he undertakes, and more especially so in this, to lay before the Queen and the French Ambassador, who

was then treating of peace, a full account of the progress of the persecution, and endeavour to obtain some mitigation of it by means of their interest with the King. They were led to hope for some result from this proceeding from the Queen's well-known readiness to do all in her power for the preservation or propagation of the Catholic religion, and the assistance of Catholics, the numerous proofs the King had exhibited of his affection towards her, the influence of the King of France, and the special injunction he had given his envoy to do all he could for the Catholics of Scotland, and the general expectation of the conclusion of the peace with France. Catholics, however, found they had deluded themselves with false hopes.

The influence of the commissaries of the bishops and ministers who represented them in London, and the favour with which the King and the great officers of state regarded them, rendered all his efforts useless. The knowledge of this influence did not make the Catholics relax their efforts—on the contrary; their attempt, however, failed, for their adversaries strained every nerve to defeat them.

When the Queen began to speak to the King upon the subject, he interrupted her, and put off the subject to another occasion. At other times, with many kind expressions, he told her it was a matter which affected the established order of government and the existence of the monarchy, and that it belonged to him, not to the Queen, to provide what was necessary for the maintenance and increase of the honour and prosperity of the whole realm. Anything else she requested he would grant her readily. He was well acquainted with the complaints of the Catholics against the Council and the clergy, and the calumnies and

falsehoods with which they were supported. The Catholics were not all subjected to persecution, the statement was a very great exaggeration; only a few seditious and insolent persons received punishment, not for their religion, but for disturbing the public peace. This was his own command, and his confidential councillors and the clergy assured him that this was all that had been actually done. He was bound to attach more credit to the letters he received from his own officers of state than to the verbal statements of a few men, who were enemies of all good government, and whose crimes induced them to provide in anticipation the means of averting punishment.

It was in vain that the Queen repeatedly offered to prove by the testimony of unexceptionable eye-witnesses, in the presence of the King, that the ministers and bishops had acted with the most atrocious cruelty against even young children and women who were in the pains of childbirth. "It is impossible," the King said, "that we can believe these stories. The men we place in authority over the churches in Scotland are humane, and not brutes, and they labour to lead back the erring by gentle means to the paths of peace, and know how to temper severity and keep within the limits of justice." He returned almost the same answer to the French Ambassador.

Thus the King either did not believe the existence of persecution against the Catholics in Scotland, or pretended not to, until the proceedings of the Council made the fact too obvious to be concealed. He would occasionally listen without displeasure to the Queen's intercession for some individual Catholic, but when she went on to the general condition of affairs he always interrupted her and imposed silence. Only very few

individuals have succeeded in escaping every kind of persecution through the Queen's intercession. This is not sufficient, and we absolutely require the favour and assistance of others as well, especially the minister of state who has charge of supplications and petitions, and the Secretary of State, and of some others who are high in the King's favour, without whose goodwill and support nothing can be done. All these have to be bribed with very large sums of money, and their avarice and greediness are so insatiable that the affair is always being protracted, and nothing gained from the King, who very rarely affords access to any one, even of the highest rank, to his presence. Those Catholics, therefore, who have had recourse to him have spent so much upon largesses to great men, and the expenses of their residence near the court, that their resources are more exhausted than if they had remained at home and suffered the worst the fury of their enemies could lay upon them.

Moreover, even if they gain a promise of exemption from the King, they are no better off than they were before. More than one nobleman, not of the lowest rank, who had obtained a promise of exemption from the King, either in the form of an express command, or a general expression of consideration and favour, and showed it to the Council and the bishops, secured no advantage of any kind from it; and one of them complaining of this to the King, and the King having addressed a remonstrance to the Council, these latter threw the blame on the bishops, and the bishops replied that they had acted in the service of Almighty God.

Their bad faith became so clear and palpable that the Earl of Abercorn and his brother, though they actually resided at court, did not think it worth while to say a

single word on behalf of their mother, a lady most firm in her adherence to the Catholic faith, and who was grievously ill-treated on that account,[1] because they knew they would only lose their labour, and this instance will be sufficient to show that we gain more by submitting to the cruelty of the heretics than by any exertions we make to obtain deliverance.

A very large number considering themselves excused by the troubled condition of the times and the resolution openly manifested to crush and destroy the Catholic religion altogether, have promised to attend the heretic worship occasionally, or even frequently, and some even to receive the Lord's Supper. But they found this of no avail, for their opponents will not allow any peace or rest except to such as will solemnly bind themselves by oath to attend the sermons and take the Calvinist Supper in their parish churches regularly, and will not only swear to the Calvinist articles of belief, but also protest that they do this sincerely and *ex animo*, and with full persuasion of the truth of the Calvinist religion, and call men and angels, and God, the searcher of all hearts, to witness that they bind themselves, under peril of body and soul at the terrible day of the last judgment, not to depart in anything from the Protestant faith. After that they are obliged to find security under a bond for the payment of a very heavy fine, that they will never extend hospitality to a priest, or receive him into their houses.

The ministers knew that by far the larger number of the persons who took the oath did so against their

[1] Dame Marion Boyd, first Countess of Abercorn, was apprehended in 1529, and cast into the Tolbooth, a loathsome prison. After six months' imprisonment she was allowed to reside in her house of Duntarvie. She died at Paisley in 1631.—*Cf.* Lee's *Abbey of Paisley*, in which book the Presbytery Records of Paisley are printed.

conscience and with the full knowledge that they were swearing what was not true. This they cannot attempt to deny, because some of those who subscribed their articles on oath immediately added that they were ready to swear to anything required, and that they had impiously and wickedly foresworn themselves. The ministers acknowledge this among themselves at table and over their cups, laughing at it as a jest and reproach against all the Catholics. Thus they openly proclaim and boast before God and man that they seek, not the salvation of the Catholics, but their eternal ruin and perdition. The wicked and horrible exaction of this oath has had the effect of strengthening many in their faith, and they will not be induced on any terms to enter an heretical assembly during sermon time.

Among other great men who repaired to the King's presence to implore for peace, was the Marquis of Huntly, who, in his sixty-eighth year, and suffering from ill-health, was nevertheless compelled to undertake the journey into England, towards the end of February, at an inclement season of the year, when extreme cold prevailed, and the roads were deep in snow. He sent on his youngest son, John Gordon, Viscount Melgum, a young man of high character and remarkably firm in his adherence to the Catholic faith, to anticipate the attempts of his opponents, to discover by the aid of the Queen what was the intention and disposition of the King, and prepossess him in his favour, as well as to obtain ready access to the royal presence. The Viscount succeeded in preparing the way for his father's arrival, and everything was satisfactorily prepared, but the letters of the Council and of their bishops unfortunately came first, and the result was that, when he was about twenty miles from London,

he was compelled to stop at "Vaix" [? Ware] until he had answered the charges brought against him by his enemies and by the Council, and satisfied the King of his innocence. The principal charges are so honourable to him that I think it worth while to set them down here.

1. What explanation could the Marquis give of his constant and customary intercourse with his own undersheriffs, judges, domestic servants, and officers who collected his rents, his farmers, relatives and connections, his friends, followers, and clients, being Catholics, who had been proclaimed rebels against his Majesty and the state, and separated from the bosom of the Church as insolent and notorious contemners of the laws, the King's Majesty, and of religion, and whom he had protected, defended, benefited, cherished, and raised to office and dignity?

2. Why the Marquis did not apprehend the aforesaid papists, residing within his jurisdiction and subject to his authority, as enjoined by the laws and statutes of the realm, since he was either the governor of the provinces in which they lived, or their hereditary lord and chief?

3. Why he paid no attention to a special order of the Council requiring him to apprehend these men, and rendered no obedience to it?

4. Why he sent no reply to the Council regarding the execution of the order above mentioned, or promised obedience under his hand, or deigned to send any excuse for his disobedience to it?

5. Why he did not appear before the Council, and why, having been proclaimed a rebel, he left the kingdom without leave, in contempt of the warning of the Council to that effect? And lastly, why he presumed to go to

the King's court, after he had been proclaimed a rebel against his Majesty, without first obtaining his consent?

The Marquis replied satisfactorily to these and similar questions, and was then admitted to the King's presence, and graciously received, at any rate to all appearance, and at the expiration of seven months from the commencement of his journey, by his own forcible arguments and eloquence, and the kind support of the Queen and the French Ambassador and his other friends, and by means of large presents to the great men at court, he at last obtained an assurance that neither he himself, nor his wife or children, should suffer any annoyance for their religion, as will be more clearly explained by the King's letter to the Archbishop of St Andrews.

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father, and right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, we greet you well. Having been informed that our beloved Father, of worthy memory, for certain good reasons granted to our right trusty and beloved cousin and councillor the Marquis of Huntly, exemption for a term from any vexation on the subject of religion, we consider that his age, condition, and other weighty considerations, regarding which we have written to our Council in Scotland, entitle him to further delay for a time, during which we expect that he will give no scandal to religion, but if he should act otherwise, we, being resolved not to give opportunity for any the least contempt in this respect, require you to give us information of the same, that we may apply a remedy according to our judgment and deliberation. It is therefore our pleasure that no process for religion shall be

entered against him, the lady his wife, or their children, until we have heard the reasons to the contrary. Farewell. Dated 1629.[1]

Another letter was addressed to the Council, ordering that the Marquis should be released from the sentence of rebellion in which he had been involved.[2] This favour granted to the Marquis was of no advantage to other Catholics, and it was only by great trouble and expense, owing to the efforts of his opponents, that he was enabled to make any use of it himself.

While the Marquis, with the Earls of Angus, Argyll, Nithsdale, and Abercorn, and many nobles and barons, were living at the King's court, each daily soliciting him for freedom to live as Catholics, Charles, on the suggestion of the Bishop of Ross, and other commissaries of the heretic faction, and in spite of the influence and entreaties of the French Ambassador, who continued to plead the cause of the Catholics in Scotland in pursuance of the orders of his sovereign, came to an unfortunate determination. He adopted a measure of distinguishing clearly and definitely between Catholics and heretics, so as to make it evident which religion each man preferred, and to deprive those who were thus conspicuously marked out as Catholics, either of the true faith or else of their rank and all their goods.

Neither was his intention altogether concealed, even before the publication of this decree against the Catholics, for it is certain that he more than once said, when at table, that he was absolutely determined that all his subjects should obey his laws and those of the realm, and should all be of one mind in their religion;

[1] This letter was written on 8th of August. Cf. *Register of Royal Letters*, edited by Rev. C. Rogers, p. 368. [2] *Register of Royal Letters*, p. 368.

that he would not, however, act with severity all at once, but would allow time for complaints to be entered against undue harshness on the part of the ministers, and for deliberation by the Council and the clergy, as to the best means of bringing back the tractable and obedient, and punishing those who continued obstinate in their errors, and that "he would not treat Catholics with less severity than had been exercised towards the Protestants in France, who were at that time almost crushed by the war"—an expression which sufficiently indicates the nature of the King's sentiments towards the Catholics. At first, men of candour and fairness thought the King would not institute any severe proceedings against the Catholics; those who saw further, and knew him best, entertained and expressed a different opinion on the matter. They proved to be right.

The King would not seem to believe what he was told regarding the proceedings taken against the Catholics up to this time, though his informants were in every way worthy of credit, and the Queen herself declared that she was in a position to prove the truth of every word; but it was certainly all done with his full knowledge, though he pretended to know nothing about it, for he connived and gave his authority secretly. Some consider that the King does not really care about religion, and that he gave his consent and encouragement to the persecution of the Catholics merely out of zeal for civil obedience, as to which he is eagerly desirous to make his government as sovereign and absolute as possible, and therefore insists upon a complete and literal obedience to all the laws and statutes. Others again attribute it to a certain facility of disposition which inclines him

to put his name to any paper laid before him by those in whom he is accustomed to place his confidence, and who thus obtain from him full powers for carrying on persecution against the Catholics.

Whatever may be his disposition towards the Catholics or our religion, it is certain that on the suggestion of our opponents he issued three letters under his sign manual on the 12th of June, two of them addressed to the Council, and the third to the Calvinist clergy, which gave so much encouragement to the persecution against the Catholics as to make it unnecessary and impossible to take any further additional step.[1] The same day these letters were signed, and a few hours afterwards, the Queen was prematurely delivered of a son, who survived his birth only a few hours. The infant was baptized according to the Anglican rite by the name of Charles, and died shortly afterwards.

The King's third letter, which was addressed to the Scottish clergy, had exactly the same contents as those addressed to the Council, and nothing more. On the

[1] In the first letter to the Council Charles wrote: ". . . our pleasure is, . . . that the Communione may be duelie and ordourlie celebrated everie quarter into the chappell of Halyrudhous, and that the Lordis of Sessione, advocattis, clarkis, writers to the signet, etc., etc. . . . may communicat in our said chappell quarterlie, or at the least once in everie year, and that the Deane of our chappell may certiefie unto you quarterlie the names of the communicantis, and the names of such of the foirsaidis persones as shal happin to refuse or neglect soe to communicat . . . whareby such persones may be prevented from being preferred to any . . . offices within our said Kingdome."—no date.—*Register of Royal Letters*, p. 355. The letter was probably written on the 12th of June 1629.

The King's other letter to the Council ordered a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops "who shall bring with them and produce . . . the names of all the profest Papistis within thare boundis and diocesse . . . that all such persones shall be removed out of the Kingdome, and . . . Proclamatione to be made at all crosses requisit, chargeing them all to remove within fourtie dayis after the publicatione thereof under the pain of death, . . . etc."—not dated.—*Register of Royal Letters*, p. 345.

authority of these three letters, and in the King's name, proclamation was at once made in the accustomed places by the officers of the King's courts, by which all Jesuits, priests, and plotting papists—as they call them —were strictly required to leave the kingdom within forty days, and if any of them were found in the country after that time, every inhabitant had full power to apprehend them and bring them before the Council to receive punishment, as the Council should order, according to the statute, that is to say, by the mode in which death is inflicted in cases of high treason. The command conveyed in the royal letter about communion was intended to distinguish not only Catholics from the disciples of the new gospel, but also Puritans, who refuse to bend their knees at communion, from Protestants. To avoid open dissension among the Calvinists this part of the King's injunctions was not rigidly insisted on, and the obstinate Puritans did not appear on the day named at Edinburgh, considering the bending of the knees at communion a species of idolatry. A few years ago this mode of communicating was declared by act of parliament to be lawful and by no means idolatrous, and was ordered by law to be observed, whereas formerly the genuflexion was proscribed as Roman Catholic and in the highest degree idolatrous. To such a degree is the Calvinist religion in this country consistent with itself.

Meanwhile, and until the orders which are given below were passed by the Council and confirmed by the royal authority, Catholics hoped to be allowed to enjoy some immunity from persecution. This was prevented by the uncontrollable fury of our opponents, and on this account the petitions presented by Catholics, in which they accepted the terms and con-

ditions proposed to them by the acts of the Council, were rejected.

Proclamation was made at Aberdeen that no judge was to pass sentence in favour of a Catholic, and was to dismiss any action from his Court, in which a Catholic was plaintiff. At the same place Catholics and priests were diligently sought out in all houses and places of public entertainment where it was thought likely they were to be found. Some were driven from their houses and compelled to give up possession of them to the King's officers, and to pay their expenses. It was openly said in the assembly of the bishop and ministers of Aberdeen that the papists were great fasters, and that they would soon make them fast themselves to death.

Two noble ladies were apprehended at Edinburgh, one of whom, Elizabeth Maxwell,[1] was sent to the prison where women of bad character were shut up, but she sat down on the steps at the entrance and could not be removed. She said that her sentence of imprisonment did not class her with harlots, and that she neither would nor ought to associate herself with women of infamous life by inhabiting the same prison. She would rather die on the steps for the Roman faith, and there were many thousands more women in Edinburgh who would be prepared to share so glorious a death with her than there were prisoners in the gaol at Edinburgh. Her only son, not yet seven years old, was at that time sick and in great danger of death, and the mother, with prayers and tears, implored to be allowed to go and take care of her child in his extremity, offering to find others willing to come and take her place in the prison

[1] According to the Register of the Privy Council, on the 18th December 1628. Within the Presbytery of Dumfries, Dame Elizabeth Maxwell, Lady Herries, was excommunicated for popery.

CRAIG CASTLE.

From Sir A. Hay's "Castellated Architecture of Aberdeenshire."

till her son either recovered or died. Men not incapable of being moved even by the misfortunes of their enemies would surely not hinder and prevent the succour which nature prompted a mother to render and a child to long for. But prayers and tears were of no avail, and they had to bring the dying child into the prison to his mother, where, from the effects of the filth and discomfort of the place and the progress of his sickness, he soon gave up his life into the hands of his Creator. The mother herself fell sick in consequence of the discomfort she underwent, and being soon afterwards sent into banishment, was not allowed even a single day to recover her health, and was scarcely permitted to take from her own property, which was considerable, enough to supply her with the absolute necessaries of life.

The other lady who had come from Caithness about a civil trial at law, was denounced as a Catholic by her stepson, against whom she had brought the action. As a Catholic excommunicated in her own country, she was consigned to the same prison as the former, and at first, out of horror at her sentence or fear of something worse, she began to waver in her resolution, but afterwards, sustained by the help of God, she resolved to suffer everything for the cause of Christ, and became after that full of hope and gladness.

A great many, in order to avoid being thrown into dungeons, and knowing very well that they would ultimately be banished from the country, have preferred the glory of God and their own salvation to all earthly considerations, and have gone into voluntary exile to France and other foreign countries; and others, having secretly escaped to England are still there, or were very lately, in concealment. Gordon of Craig, who went to

London to plead the cause of the Catholics, was informed that the King had given orders for his apprehension, and was compelled to return to Scotland. Some wandered about in parts of the country where they were not known for Catholics, or concealed themselves in the hills and woods, especially during the summer. No one could safely remain at home.

Our opponents, moreover, with their cruelty still unsatisfied, faithlessly broke through the respite which the King himself had granted. He had directed, as I have said above, that all petitions from Catholics, in which they either promised to profess Calvinism, or asked permission to leave the country, or any other favour, should be kept for consideration until the 23rd day of July, and that on that day the Council should reply to their proposals, and all considered that this implied that the King gave them a safe conduct to the Council, and that no proceedings would be taken against such as went to present petitions to the Council on that day. But the Calvinist clergy sent orders to the magistrates of all the towns through which Catholics had to pass, to apprehend them, and either keep them in prison or send them under arrest to Edinburgh. To this degree have the faithless Calvinists accustomed themselves to set at defiance all human rights and obligations.

The meeting was held on the 23rd of July,[1] according to the King's appointment, and the seal was set to all their wicked and bloody decrees on the feast of St James. They were then sent to the King, and sent back by him with his approbation to the Council by the minister Maxwell, on the 1st of November. A discussion then took place whether they should be

[1] *Cf.* Register of the Privy Council.

printed, and on this question they were not agreed. The Chancellor of the kingdom said they certainly ought not to be, because, as he observed, they were sure to be forwarded immediately by the papists to Italy, France, Flanders, Germany, and Spain, translated into the languages of all these countries, and if we print them with the ratification and approval of the King's Majesty, we shall give a manifest and incontrovertible proof of what our opponents call our cruelty and impiety. Nevertheless the opposite opinion prevailed, and they were printed in Edinburgh at the beginning of November 1629, and I have made a Latin version of them,[1] but for brevity, I have omitted the names of the commissioners.

The King's approval of the acts is dated 3rd November 1629, palace of Holyrood.

Letter of Father William Leslie *to* Father General Mutius Vitelleschi (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

1*st May* 1629.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,
Pax Christi.

We gave Father Rob a statement of the condition of our affairs when he was here last year, and I doubt not he has reported it to your Paternity. Since that time a few things have occurred in the northern part of the kingdom, which I will now briefly relate. As regards the southern part, there are many others who will give your Paternity full information.

1628. In this year then, after the departure of Father Rob, there was a royal order issued, addressed

[1] This is here omitted.

to the Calvinist bishops, ministers, and their adherents in the several dioceses, enabling them with greater safety to obtain the names of the Catholics who refused to take part in their worship. These they were to report through their Commissaries to the Privy Council twice during the year, viz., in November of last year, and in July of the present. This they did in November, with the addition of the names of nearly all the priests who remain in Scotland. The ministers showed great alacrity in collecting these returns, and further added a variety of calumnious charges against the Catholics, especially of disturbing their synagogues during public worship. They complained that Popery is alarmingly on the increase, and that priests are allowed to go wherever they like with impunity and in defiance of the statutes of the realm, and to the great contempt and detriment of religion and of the word of God. All which, and other similar proceedings, they solemnly declared would bring total destruction upon them, and upon their religion, at no distant date, unless a remedy could be found.

Having received these informations against the Catholics, the Council proceeded to grant full powers to our opponents to act in pursuance of the decrees of Parliament. These decrees are altogether monstrous. First of all, they absolutely prohibit all commerce or dealing with any person excommunicated by the ministers, not only in the way of conversation, hospitality, and supply of provisions, but also purchase or sale of land or any other kind of property. All who contravene this order, even if they belong to their own sect, are subjected to the same penalty as the Catholics themselves. Next, no Catholic can hold any public office, and if he happen to be a judge, no

decrees issued by him can have any legal force. Thirdly, all personal property and annual revenues belonging to Catholics are confiscated by public authority, and sequestered, to be given up hereafter to the King or any one he may appoint. They are further cited to appear personally before the Council on the 3rd day of February, to hear the royal letters read, and to give up the keys of the castles and houses where they reside. Lastly, letters were issued by the Council addressed to the governors of the different districts—and particularly in this part of Scotland to the Marquis of Huntly for the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, to the bishop and sheriffs of the same district, and to Lord Lovat for the province of Moray—requiring them to institute a search for such Catholics as are under heretical sentence of excommunication in the several dioceses, apprehend, and bring them before the Council. The members of this body wrote at the same time to the King, with great complaints about the Catholics; that their numbers were enormously increased, especially in the dioceses of Aberdeen and Moray, and their insolence had become unendurable. This increase in the number both of Catholics and priests they attributed to the hope of escaping punishment, and also to the fact that the governors of these districts, either through carelessness or of set purpose — being Catholics themselves—had neglected to discharge their duty to the State. They therefore recommended that a viceroy should be sent to represent the King in his northern kingdom, charged with a special mission to extirpate the Catholic religion, the expenses attending this measure being defrayed from the goods and annual revenues of the Catholics, which are to be handed over to him for the purpose.

These letters from the Council duly reached the King's hands. In reply, he expressed his approval of the steps they had taken with regard to the Catholics, thanked them for applying a remedy for the evil, and authorised them, after diligent enquiry as to the delinquents and their misdeeds, to punish them according to the quality of their crime. And in case any sheriff or judge should not discharge his duties with proper diligence, he desires that the case may be reported to him, that he may deal with it as circumstances require. Meantime, let them go on as they have begun, taking care to send him information of all their proceedings from time to time.

During these proceedings the pseudo-bishop of Aberdeen and the sheriff of the same place have been diligently engaged in searching for priests and Catholics in the town, in pursuance of the orders of the Council, while the deputy of the Marquis of Huntly, the governor, does the same thing throughout the sheriffdom of Aberdeen. By God's wonderful providence they have not succeeded in apprehending a single one, either in town or country. The Council have nevertheless highly commended the assiduity of the said bishop and the sheriff, and sternly denounced the remissness of the Marquis of Huntly, proclaiming him a rebel and favourer of the Catholics. Against this decree the Marquis has appealed to the King, and though he is seventy years of age he set off for London early in the spring, to defend his own cause and that of his fellow Catholics.

Directly this was known, the members of the Council hurriedly sent off the bishop of the Isles to London, armed with a series of charges and accusations against the Marquis, and with directions

to outstrip him, if possible, and get to the King's presence first, which he did. They demanded, that before the Marquis should be admitted to his Majesty's presence, he should be required to answer to the charges brought against him by the Council.[1] The King was so far influenced by these sinister charges brought forward by the heretics, that for two months he refused the Marquis of Huntly an audience. It was then obtained by the intercession of the Queen and other friends, but I know nothing further, and he still remains in London.

The storm of persecution raged with dreadful severity during all this time against those Catholics who courageously persevered in the confession of their faith. All who refused to attend the heretic worship were excommunicated by the ministers, with fearful anathemas, devoting their souls and bodies to hell and Satan; they were denounced by name as rebels, their goods confiscated, were turned out of their houses, and the fires extinguished—a part of the custom of this country—and the keys given up to the King's officers. One lady of rank who was in childbed was turned out in that condition, with her children who were ill at the time, in the presence of a multitude of spectators of both sexes, who looked on, shocked and astonished. A widow was cast out of her house with all her family. Women apprehended for the confession of the faith were thrown into gaol. Every day we see people, of both sexes indifferently, subjected to all the inconveniences I have enumerated above, and many more, in pursuance of the decrees of the Council and of Parliament. The wives even of noblemen of rank are brought before the Council to answer for their faith, while their young

[1] Those charges have already been enumerated, p. 58.

sons are ordered to attend the schools of the heretics, to be taught their system of doctrine, such being the commands of the Council and of the King. Catholics are constantly required to subscribe their Confession of Faith—which is a profession of infidelity and denial of the Catholic religion—and which declares, among other paradoxes, that Christ's Vicar on earth is Antichrist, and this confession has not only to be subscribed, but confirmed on oath. This is not enough either, for they have to take bread and wine, after the Calvinist rite, for Holy Communion, attend all the sermons, and pay a fine if they are absent.

If excommunicate, they cannot safely appear in court to defend or prosecute any action whatever. If they do, they are either refused hearing, or cast in their suit. The consequence is that they seldom or never go to law, and no one who owes them money ever thinks of paying it. They cannot borrow, even in extreme necessity, for all their goods have been taken from them, and the ministers moreover prevent any one lending to them. The object of all this is to reduce them to such extreme penury as to compel them, if possible, to yield. Men of the highest rank in the kingdom, who have Catholic servants, are obliged to send them away if they are excommunicated, to apostatise or starve, for they cannot be received into any other family; and their Lords cannot get other Catholic servants in their place. This, and the rest, are some of the anxieties we have to contend with.

I meant to stop here, but I have omitted one other indication of the godlessness and perfidy of these ministers. They never advance any arguments, when in controversy with Catholics, in favour of their

opinions, except the decrees of Parliament, the forfeiture of goods, and ruin of their families, in case they refuse to accept the religion established by law. And if they find any Catholic, more anxious about temporal inconvenience than the eternal welfare of his soul, ready to join them for form's sake, without pretending any agreement with their views, they are quite satisfied with this hypocritical conversion, and urge it in default of anything better. If, however, they cannot get even this—*flectere si nequeunt superos, Acheronta movebunt.*

I should exceed the limits of a letter, if I have not done so already, if I went into detail, and I am afraid what I have said will utterly fail to convey to your Paternity even a feeble idea of the state of things here, and the position in which the Catholics are placed, our Society among the rest. We are forbidden by special proclamation to leave the kingdom, as I have twice informed your Paternity already. We are also denounced by name as rebels, and consequently cannot live safely anywhere, especially as many of those who used to entertain us in their houses are themselves turned out of them. Under these circumstances what relief can we possibly extend to Catholics in distress? Need I say that next to God and the Saints, they most earnestly desire the assistance of the Apostolic See, and of the Supreme Vicar of Christ on earth, with humble submission, imploring his Holiness, by his paternal care and solicitude, and by the intervention of Catholic kings and princes, to obtain for them a return of peace and tranquillity. They beg the intercession of your Paternity, and of others, with his Holiness, to obtain this blessing. Failing which, or some other remedy for our troubles, we can see, humanly speaking, no other prospect

except the complete and speedy extermination of the Catholic faith in Scotland.

Our Fathers continue courageously to risk life and liberty for the salvation of souls. All have done well hitherto. We are now eight in number, for Father George Christie, after spending, I think, fifty years in the Society, holily departed this life on the 14th of April, having received the Sacraments from the hands of Father Robert Valens. The good old man bequeathed all the money in his hands, collected in the Mission, to the Seminary at Douay, subject to the approval of your Paternity. My own opinion, in submission to that of your Reverence, is that the money belongs to our Mission, for the expenses of the Fathers; especially as they have now nowhere to lay their heads: and of course he could not make a will.

I have twice earnestly entreated you to relieve me of my burden as Superior, but without success. This third application, I hope, will be more successful, for my health is not good, and being lame in the left leg and foot, I cannot go and visit our Fathers as I ought. Your Paternity will do what seems best in our Lord, out of your charity; and if meantime I cannot discharge my duties as I ought and should like to, my infirmity will sufficiently excuse me before God and yourself. It only remains for me now to commend this vineyard, which the savage wolves are laying waste, with its labourers, heartily, and again and again, to the prayers of your Paternity and of our companions.

Your unworthy son and servant in Christ,

WILLIAM LESLIE.

From SCOTLAND, 1*st May* 1629.

Letter of FATHER ROBERT VALENS *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

EDINBURGH, 16*th June* 1629.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

I know the solicitude of your Reverence about us and our affairs, and write accordingly. The Countess,[2] in whose house I have served two years, has to every one's surprise—since she had a great deal of money—been excommunicated and put in prison, in the capital of the kingdom, where she still remains, and where I can scarcely get to see her, and only by night. The heretics were exasperated with her, for permitting her children to abandon their sect; and, as she is one of the first personages in Scotland, their prestige was much damaged by the loss of such distinguished disciples. Their ambition is now restricted to the determination not to allow any one to let a house to her, or sell anything which could be of use to her. The Baron,[3] with whom I lived for five years

[1] We learn from this very letter, dated from Edinburgh 16th June 1629, that he had then been on the Mission about five years. His residence in that city, though most dangerous to himself, was to the Catholics, especially the gentry detained in custody, a source of consolation. With the greatest difficulty he had succeeded in escaping the pursuit of his enemies. The city being divided into districts, twenty-four Puritan zealots had been selected to hunt out Catholics and search their houses and lodgings. The persecution at length forced him to seek refuge in England. We find in Father James Mackbreck's letters of the 3*rd of April* 1644, that Father Valens had been apprehended some time before in London. Probably his sentence was perpetual banishment.—*Cf.* Oliver, *op. cit.*

[2] Dame Marion Boyd, Countess of Abercorn. *Cf.* Appendix at the end of the second volume.

[3] Father Valens resided with the Earl of Abercorn, and in Edinburgh. The Earl of Abercorn was summoned before the Synod of Glasgow in 1628, and his brother, Lord Claud Hamilton, was ordered to be warded in the castle of Edinburgh on the 5*th of June* 1628. *Cf.* Appendix I.

previously, has given up heretic communion, in spite of letters from the King extending his period of office. When I first went to live at his house, he was in the habit of frequently attending heretic sermons, and thus gradually became alienated from our worship; but if his fear of the censure of the world gave scandal then, he is now one of our ablest supporters, whether in talking or writing, on the controverted points of faith. Meanwhile I am deprived of my two retreats, where I used to celebrate the solemnities of religion, and take refuge in time of peril, and am obliged to live in an inn, at very great expense, which however I should not object to if I was safe. The searchers of the town visit the house monthly, or oftener, and on two occasions have come while I was saying office. I was in considerable danger, and still greater alarm, for they came close to my room, where I had some of the sacred furniture exposed to view. The hand of God stayed them from coming farther. I am safe nowhere in the town, for they have divided it in districts among four-and-twenty zealous Puritans, to multiply the chances of catching us, so I now say my hours in the fields, or lurk all day on the hills, dressed like a peasant. As to Catholic men and women being sent to prison or exile, I need say nothing: it is quite an everyday occurrence.

A noble and well-informed person told me that upwards of nine thousand witches have been prosecuted. One or two were burnt, but they think it of more importance to torture the Catholics. My residence at Edinburgh, if dangerous to myself, is of great use to Catholics, in more ways than one, as they gladly acknowledge. I have been able to lessen in some degree the enormous exactions which were imposed upon Catholics of rank, when in prison for their faith,

and have given suitable books to others who seemed wavering, as I could not always get to them myself. My duties as a priest have not been interrupted, in spite of the horrible persecution, and I know several people who desire reconciliation with the Catholic Church. That it may be so, I ask the prayers of your Reverence.

Your humblest son in Christ,

ROBERT VALENS.

FATHER WILLIAM LESLIE *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst MSS.*).

8th June 1630.

VERY REV. FATHER IN CHRIST,

I have received your Paternity's letter of the 24th of November last. I am very sorry your Reverence was displeased at my sending Father Christie, and I shall never send any one in future without consulting your wishes. Meantime I send this to let you know how things stand at present. Our opponents are as furious as ever. As if they thought the persecution nothing hitherto, they have now given the finishing stroke by means of some monstrous decrees against priests, of all orders, as well as other Catholics who adhere to their faith. These are printed and published, and I have sent a copy to your Paternity through France; but for fear it should not come to hand, I enclose another. They are now busily engaged in putting these decrees into execution, exiling some and imprisoning others. Some have privately got away to France, England, or Ireland, for no Catholic can possibly stay in this country and remain faithful to his religion, except a very few men of high rank, who

have obtained permission to do so, with great difficulty, and only by the indulgence of the King. All the rest have to choose between shipwreck of their faith and exile, with only a third of their property left them to live upon, no slight temptation to men who have numerous dependents, besides their children, to support. We, who mean to persevere in an unshaken allegiance to Christ, are crushed under all these difficulties, and most earnestly commend ourselves to your prayers and those of our brethren.

Your son and servant in Christ,

WILLIAM LESLIE.

From SCOTLAND, *8th June* 1630. (Received 1632.)

FATHER WILLIAM LESLIE *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

1st September 1630.

VERY REV. FATHER IN CHRIST,

I wrote to your Paternity last June about the persecution in this country; since which time it has continued to get worse and worse. The Catholics, men and women, who were brought before the Council in July, were sentenced to banishment. They have been given seven weeks to leave the country, and a third of their annual income to live upon; if they return they lose this third, pay a fine in addition, and are imprisoned for life. No advocate is allowed to plead any cause on behalf of an exile before the King's judges, and if he does, the plea is disallowed. Of course the object is the total suppression of the Catholic religion. The heretics extol their own clemency in not

shedding blood, like our Inquisitors, though they say they might lawfully do so. I only know that if this state of things continues, and some remedy yet unforeseen does not arise, the profession of the Catholic faith in this country will be an impossibility, at least without cruel and continual persecution. Our people are all starting for foreign lands, or hiding themselves away, and the consequence is that our Fathers, and the other priests, have not where to lay their heads. I think, subject to the approval of your Paternity, that rather than expose them thus to perpetual and imminent danger, it would be better to send some of our Fathers away altogether. But for the bounty of Colonel Semple, they could not have remained so long. I am scarcely able to cross my room from weakness.

Father Christie came back safe to us in July, to the great joy of all his friends. Again I entreat your Reverence to make an effort to help these people: it is absolutely necessary. A heretic minister here,[1] who has much hindered the work of conversion, has lately published a book on the *Normal Object of Faith*, in opposition to the writers on our side, and boasted that none of our Fathers can answer it. I sent it to Father George Turnbull,[2] who refuted it admirably, but it has brought him into trouble. I hope your Reverence will encourage this Father to go on answering these books, and I will send them to him from time to time. It would tend to the defence of the faith, the salvation of souls, and the honour of our Society; only I am afraid

[1] Robert Baron, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, iii., 270.

[2] George Turnbull, S.J., born at Tranent, 13th January 1567, Professor of Philosophy at Avignon and at Pont-à-Mousson, published in 1628. *Imaginarii Circuli quadratura Catholica, seu de objecto formali et regula fidei, adversus Robertum Baronem ministrum. Rhemis, apud Simonem Fognæum*, 1628, etc.

he will try to excuse himself on the ground of other occupations, which obedience imposes on him.

I have written to your Paternity several times about the persecution, and our affairs generally, but have as yet received no reply, and I fear your Reverence's letters may have been lost. I beg you to commend us and this neglected vineyard to God, and to obtain the prayers of others.

Your unworthy son and servant in Christ,

WILLIAM LESLIE.

From SCOTLAND, 1*st September*.

FATHER WILLIAM CHRISTIE *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

3rd September 1630.

I have written four or five letters to you, most worshipful Sir,[1] while travelling and under difficulties, and possibly my letters may not have reached your hands. At any rate I have received none in reply. It was too painful to go into particulars, in such miserable times, and I only hinted at the sufferings of our people. The evil increases daily, and in human judgment, the game is well-nigh played out. New laws are made every day to ruin Catholics, old edicts revived, judgments of unheard-of cruelty pronounced. The excommunicate—as they presume to call them—are denied all privileges, rights, or appeal to law; no proctor or advocate will dare to appear for them, even in the clearest cause. Truth and justice are thrown to the winds, and the verdict is against them as a matter

[1] This letter is addressed, "Illustrissimo Domino Mutio [Vitelleschi]."

FATHER MUZIO VITELLESCHI.
1615—1645.

FATHER VINCENZO CARAFFA.
1646—1649.

FATHER GOSWIN NICKEL.
1652—1664.

THREE FATHER GENERALS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

The Scottish Mission was immediately under the Generals, and all the Reports here printed are addressed to them.

From the engravings by Westerhout.

of course. The rage of the enemy is as great as ever, but there is less material to exercise it upon. A few great men have purchased the connivance of the Government, a suspicious and dangerous proceeding, because it only makes the ruin of their inferiors more easy and certain. Except these, there is scarcely one who is not either in miserable exile or rotting in gaol. If any of them reach your country, I implore you again and again to help them. Those who are, for the moment, under protection will very soon be brought to trial and put to death, unless God interferes to help them. You can imagine the straits to which our Fathers are reduced.

We have nowhere to go, nowhere to hide. The aid you promised so often from Father Rob is not forthcoming, and they all declare that throughout this persecution they have never had a line or a word of consolation or encouragement. Mr James Gordon writes that he has heard nothing from your Reverence about their going to Douay or being employed there, which they cannot help wondering at. I need not tell you, most illustrious Sir, of the rest of our troubles, which you very well know; I merely supplicate you in my own name and that of all our friends, to get us help from the Lord Urban,[1] and others who are in a position to give it. I commend my most unworthy self to the holy prayers of our Fathers and especially to your own.

Your Worship's servant,

WILLIAM CHRISTIE.

3rd September 1630.

[1] Pope Urban VIII.

Annual Letters for 1630 *addressed to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

DURING this year six of our Fathers have been in Scotland, without including Father John Stephen, who came over from Belgium at Easter, returned to Belgium in July, and did not revisit Scotland until December. Father William Christie has come back from Rome. Five Calvinists have abjured heresy and been received into the Church. In other respects the exertions of the Fathers have been exclusively directed to encouraging and consoling Catholics who adhere to the faith, feeding them with the word and sacraments, and reconciling the lapsed.

The Council met on January 7th and the following days. The Marquis could not obtain a ratification of his privilege of indemnity, in spite of the utmost exertions of all his friends, partly on the ground that he had failed to evict the Catholics who still remained and were in dependence on him, and steadily refused to undertake to do anything of the sort, and partly also because the Council understood that his presence and exhortations gave extraordinary encouragement to the Catholics in the north of Scotland. And the members of the Council were all the more persistent in their refusal, in the hope that the King's letters in his favour would be recalled. In this, however, they were disappointed, for Doctor Leslie returned from Court about the 13th of the same month, bringing an order from the King to the effect that the relaxation of the sentence of rebellion passed upon the Marquis should be granted without further delay, that he should be

[1] This narrative is in the handwriting of Father John Leslie, and signed with the initials J. L.

permitted to return to his home, and not called upon to discharge the task of apprehending Catholics. Further letters from the King addressed to the Council arrived about the same time, in which he signified his pleasure that the office of apprehending the Catholics in the north of Scotland, and bringing them up before the Council, should be entrusted to the Lord Gordon, the Marquis's eldest son,[1] and the Marquis himself no longer troubled on this subject. And to enable Lord Gordon to carry out this operation with greater exactness and diligence, the King granted him all the personal property and annual rents belonging to Catholics. The Council thereupon passed an order based on the commands contained in the King's letter, and dealing with the whole question, as follows:—

"Whereas being persuaded of his pious zeal for the preservation of true religion and for the suppression of popery in this realm, his Majesty has been pleased to choose and designate the Lord Gordon and invest him with full commission and authority to apprehend excommunicated rebels in the north of Scotland, and with power to remove and appropriate to his own use the moveable goods and annual rents and profits of the aforesaid rebels, according to the tenor of his Majesty's letters to the Privy Council.

"In order to secure due obedience in this matter, and that the said Lord Gordon may be the more secure and

[1] Lord George Gordon, by the express order of King James, had been brought up at Court along with Prince Henry, and Charles, then Duke of York, and carefully instructed in the principles of the Church of England. *Cf.* Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 8.

Lord Gordon was appointed Commissioner for suppressing Popery in the North, by Royal Letters dated Whitehall, 10th December 1629. *Register of the Privy Council*, 2nd series, vol. iii.

certain in the possession of the rents and moveable property of the aforesaid rebels, the Lords of the Council ordain and decree that the Lord Gordon is to have and hold this donation and possession of all the rents and personal property of all excommunicated rebels, Jesuits, and Seminary Priests, in the northern part of this kingdom, approved and ratified by the Lords of the Treasury: namely, of all such as the said Lord Gordon shall have apprehended or compelled to leave the country through fear of being apprehended, exclusive of such portion of these goods or such sums of money as have been already paid and received to his Majesty's use; with this special caution and proviso added, that the said Lord Gordon and his vicars shall be bound to keep away from the country such excommunicated rebels as have already taken to flight, or else to apprehend and bring them before the Council, in case they return without his Majesty's written permission, and a passport signed by his hand.

"And if it happen that the said Lord Gordon or his vicars shall fail in their duty in this matter, or if it shall appear that they have applied this donation of the rents and goods of the aforesaid rebels, or any part of the same, to the use of the said rebels, the donation of the rents of such excommunicated rebel, so returning or not appearing as aforesaid, or whose moveable goods or rents, or any part of the same, shall have been appropriated to the use of the said rebel, shall, *ipso facto*, be taken from the said Lord Gordon, and the dominion and usufruct thereof shall appertain to his Majesty, no less than if it had never been granted to the said Lord Gordon."

Lord Gordon could not personally carry this order of Council into execution, because he was at that

moment intending to set out for France, with a band of armed soldiers, thence to proceed to Italy to take part in the war of the Mantuan succession. He accordingly made over his functions to three commissioners, and himself went to London to meet the French Ambassador accredited to the English Court, from whom he was to receive a large sum of money for the soldiers. The three commissioners held office for seven months, but they reported their progress to the Council on the 23rd of February. The Marquis of Huntly was detained in the north of Scotland by the authority of the Council, though at last declared free from the sentence of rebellion.

Human or diabolical ingenuity could not have contrived anything more directly calculated to lead Catholics astray than this measure, and the very motives which should have encouraged them to perseverance were now turned to their destruction. The detention of the Marquis, their leader and defender, which was to all intents and purposes captivity, caused them equal alarm and regret, and itself had no little influence in inducing them to abandon their faith. Lord Gordon was an object of awe and dread to them, for many reasons. It is true, and I am certain of the fact, that he had taken an oath not to appropriate to himself a single farthing of the goods and possessions of Catholics who remained constant to their faith. He was also convinced that the Roman religion is the only one that is holy and true, a conviction, however, which he does not express very openly,[1] for he yielded to the pressure of the times, and was anxious to be in favour with the King and the Council. But it was not in his power to allow

[1] *Vix profitetur.*

the Catholics any benefit or advantage from any portion of their own property, otherwise than with the utmost secrecy; because, if it was discovered that the orders of the King and the Council were evaded, they might have been still more cruelly and severely treated, and he himself would have been judged unfaithful to his sovereign.

Another unfavourable circumstance was that the commissioners appointed by Lord Gordon, namely, Lord Deskford,[1] whose family name was Ogilvie, Sir Alexander Gordon, Laird of Cluny, and the Lord of Balveny, were all either friends or relatives, both of Lord Gordon himself and of a very large number of Catholic gentlemen, and the friendship which these commissioners had shown them, and the favours they received from them, added to daily menaces and entreaties that they would comply with the necessities of the times, all combined to distract the minds of the Catholics, and lead them into varying sentiments and speculations. The activity of the commissioners was still further stimulated by the malice of the Calvinist bishops and ministers, and others, who were perpetually, and with great bitterness and ferocity, threatening to bring all sorts of grievous complaints against them before the King and the Council, unless they could make it evident that they were exerting their utmost care and diligence in the discharge of the duties imposed upon them, fully convincing them also that they would inevitably lose the good opinion of the King and the Council, and be quite disappointed of all hopes of success in any favour or suit they might themselves at any time hereafter prefer.

The Catholics failed not in courage, and had the

[1] *Balveniæ Cluniæ toparcham.*

commission been entrusted to open enemies instead of to friends, they would certainly not have allowed themselves to be made prisoners, and their goods plundered, without armed reprisals and resistance to the death. No Scotsman so circumstanced would ever abandon his faith, so long as he possessed the power, if not of overthrowing, at least of vexing and annoying, his enemies.

Now, however, the ties of friendship, joined with entreaties, threats, fears for the future, and the alternative of prosperity or ruin, not for themselves only, but for their families as well, all combined to hurry these unhappy men over the precipice, on the brink of which they stood. To go into banishment abroad, leaving their wives in prison, and their children absolutely destitute, was a prospect appalling and intolerable, even to the young and strong, much more so to men of advanced age; and if we take into consideration the tendencies to evil, which are incidental to human nature, it is not astonishing that many should have wandered from the right path, and begun to affect an inclination to Calvinism.

I understand that only a few Catholics declared themselves gratified at this commission granted by the King to Lord Gordon, and thought it afforded ground for rejoicing, because Lord Gordon being a Catholic, the circumstance that he was entrusted with such a charge gave them hopes of better treatment than they could have hoped for or expected, in times so adverse to their interests, and in the face of so fierce and so determined a conspiracy of their enemies against them. By the acts of the Council, confirmed by the King, these powers had previously been entrusted to more than two hundred officials, thirty of them peers

of the realm; but they were now placed in their plenitude in the hands of a single individual, and that a friend. If the magistrates and nobles of every province of Scotland, at the head of their armed forces, all animated with the wild jealousy and fanatical zeal which distinguishes their sect, had been turned loose upon a handful of elderly men and women, already beginning to sink under the weight of age and misfortune, the Catholics could scarcely have remained in security a single night, and within a month or more from the royal assent to the Council's orders, they would all have been either in prison or reduced to absolute destitution, everything they had in the world dispersed or ruined, their lands laid waste, while their families, exposed to want and neglect, contempt and scorn, would have perished of hunger or of grief. As it was, they were granted a delay of six or seven months, and some of them a longer time, to make their preparations, and provide for their safety as best they could; and they could do it with the greater certainty, because it was known that Lord Gordon had given out that he would not enrich himself out of the possessions of the Catholics to the value of a single crown piece.

Those, however, who were inclined to fall away kept laying the blame of their lapse of faith upon Lord Gordon's shoulders. His power and influence, combined with other weighty reasons, rendered him especially formidable to the Catholics, and their fears for the future, and the light in which they regarded him, were not much relieved by the proclamation of his intention to leave them all in possession of their own property, without reserving anything for himself; because it was evident from the terms of the order of

the Council that this was more than he had power to do. It was expressly stipulated in the grant made to him of these possessions that the King's donation was null and void in any case in which he transferred it to Catholics, whatever opinion he may have expressed to the contrary when he first undertook the commission, and whatever groundless and unfounded expectations his words might have created.

There were many, besides, who believed that the persecution could not have advanced with so much rapidity, and so much violence, as it afterwards did, when he was allowed to surrender his commission, if he had not permitted this office to be imposed upon him. A man of his abilities could easily have avoided it, if he had pleased, and no other, not even a heretic, would have accepted it. Accordingly it was suspected by many that the commission to apprehend Catholics, thus entrusted to Lord Gordon, was not originally suggested by the Council or the King, but that he asked for it himself, or some member of his family obtained it for him, in order that the Marquis his father, the chief of the Gordons, now an old man and in infirm health, might be relieved from it.

This is more than I would venture to affirm. It is not at all impossible that the duty was really imposed upon Lord Gordon at the suggestion of some of the Council, or other enemies of the Catholic cause, expressly because he was known to be a Catholic at heart, and his acceptance of such an office would consequently expose him to dishonour and reproach, and entirely ruin his credit with the Most Christian King; while the Catholics themselves, assailed by so powerful a persecutor, would all the more speedily be converted to Calvinism, or forced into banishment.

Both the anticipations and the wishes of our adversaries were realised to the full. Lord Gordon made over his functions to three commissioners, and set out for London to confer with the French Ambassador, who was to give him pay and appointments on the most splendid scale, in his master's name, to raise an armed force, ostensibly as a bodyguard to the King of France in case he went to Italy. He was to have been the commandant of these troops, and the office was to be made hereditary in his family. But on hearing that he had undertaken an office which engaged him to apprehend the Scottish Catholics, the King of France immediately ordered that the appointment above described should not take effect, and that the money should not be paid. Lord Gordon thereupon sent a messenger to France to explain to the Most Christian King that he had acted by the express orders of his own sovereign, with the best intentions towards the Catholics, and with a view to their welfare; and it is said that the Queen of England wrote to the King her brother in his defence, but all was of no avail.

Meanwhile Lord Gordon's three commissioners, who, though professed Calvinists, were warmly attached to his interests, showed the Catholics every favour in their power. Proceeding by gentle means, they invited all the Catholic gentlemen to meet them, under what is called in this country a "safe conduct," and placed before them three alternatives, one of which they told them plainly they must choose. Either they must profess Calvinism; or they must leave the country at once; or if they did not choose to do either, they had only themselves to blame if hereafter they were taken and made prisoners. The King and the Council were desirous of their apprehension and imprisonment, and

they, the commissioners, were bound to carry out the orders and injunctions issued by the united authority of both. They said they considered that the Catholics ought not to be either surprised or displeased at the turn things had taken; for if the commission had been entrusted to other hands they would not have had the advantage of a previous warning, such as was now given them.

There was, however, a third and better course of action, which the commissioners said they would advise them to follow. They should think of the critical position of their wives and children, and be moved by their tears and destitution, and not refuse compliance with the laws and statutes of the King and kingdom. They could retain all their own private and internal devotion to their own religion, reserving for better times a more exact and scrupulous observance of their faith. That was the way in which Roman Catholics had formerly acted in this country, and in which many of them were still acting. Why should they follow, to their own ruin, the counsel of headstrong and unreasonable men, and carry religion to the point of superstition? By these and similar arguments of worldly wisdom some of their number were induced to make profession of Calvinism; and the remainder promised to leave the country before the commissioners laid down their office on the completion of their work.

Meanwhile the clergy wrote to the commissioners every day, to remind them of their duty, adding the threat that if they failed in the execution of it they would charge them with this neglect before the King and the Council, thereby endangering the success of any cause or suit they might have in progress before the Council or any other court of law. Influenced by

this pressure, Alexander Gordon, Laird of Cluny, apprehended a lady of rank named Elizabeth Garioch,[1] a widow over seventy years of age, enfeebled by years and sickness, but a firm and constant Catholic, and put her in prison at Aberdeen. This proceeding was far from enhancing his reputation either for courage or wisdom, or still higher qualities than these, and even the clergy and the Council openly derided him, because he had chosen to throw into prison a woman broken down with age, affliction, and infirmity, while there were so many men whom he might have apprehended instead.

The lady herself, convinced that she was called to the honour and victory of martyrdom, was full of courage, and freely and joyfully allowed herself to be arrested and conveyed to gaol, where her health strangely improved, in spite of the inconveniences to which she was subjected. She passed her time in prayer and pious exercises, and continued resolutely, and on all occasions to profess herself a Catholic, often expressing a desire to shed her blood for the Roman faith. In time her wish was granted, for she fell sick, owing to the filthiness of the prison and other causes, and yielded her soul to her Creator on the 27th of December, after nearly six months' imprisonment. The heretic ministers offered to allow her to leave the prison when they saw she was dying; but she absolutely refused, declaring that she would not go, unless she was removed by force; that it was more glorious to die in prison for the Catholic faith, than to live many years in freedom, even if she could indulge such an expectation at her age, and that she would joyfully give her last breath in prison for Him, who had given His blood and life for her on the cross.

[1] See Appendix I., Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. ii., 38, 39.

Lord Gordon remained several months in London, and being unable to find any excuse which would satisfy the King of France, returned to Scotland, resolved to act in so terrible a dilemma, as favourably towards the Catholics (even in their judgment) as circumstances rendered possible, with a view of proving to the King of France that the position of the Scottish Catholics would have been infinitely worse, if he had not undertaken to deal with them. Directly he returned, the Council sent him a peremptory mandate to lose no time in displaying his diligence in the execution of the King's orders, before the 15th of July; and that he must no longer allow the lenity of the commissioners, or his own sympathy with papists and the papist sect, so far to influence him as to sanction the continued residence of such dangerous rebels within the kingdom.

He wrote an autograph letter to all Catholic gentlemen who had not as yet pretended to turn heretics, informing them of the severity with which the Council were demanding from him the execution of the King's commands, and pointing out to them the length of time he had put this off out of regard for their interests. They must now finally make up their minds what they meant to do, to relieve him of the responsibility to Government which he had incurred, and give satisfaction to the ministers and their church. He desired them to come to him on the 6th of July, and either let him know what they had decided, or else consult with him about arriving at a decision. If they failed to do this, he would be under the necessity of taking harsher measures. And lastly, they must remember that their decision would affect not themselves only, but also their wives; because women were included in the order of the King and of the Council, as much as men.

All assembled on the appointed day, and promised Gordon to come to Edinburgh on the 15th of July. They did come to Edinburgh, but they would not consent to appear before the Council until that assembly had promised that they should not be asked whether they had heard Mass, and where, or whether they had entertained priests or assisted them with money, or be required to answer to any other charge that might be brought against them, but should be allowed full and ample liberty to go wherever they liked, in case they declined to comply with the proposals made to them by the Council. On the strength of this concession all those who had refused to make profession of Calvinism came into the presence of the Council on the day prescribed, in custody of a guard. A third part of their goods and annual rents was allowed them, the rest being confiscated to the Treasury, and they accepted sentence of banishment, under a heavy fine if they returned to their native country without the King's licence. They were to leave Scotland within fifty days at furthest.

A special extension of time was by them granted to John Leslie, of New Leslie, a pious and constant Catholic, who was allowed to remain some two months longer; and this looked very like a manifest indication and reward of his piety. For, only a few hours before the time fixed for the meeting of the Council, observing the others hastening away to the houses of various patrons and protectors, some to the chief of their clan, others to great noblemen or friends of members of the Council, to ask their aid and intercession to obtain for them as long a term of delay as possible before they were compelled to leave Scotland, he said to them: "I see you are all running to your several lords for the

postponement of your exile. I am far from grudging you this privilege, and I pray it may turn out well. I also will go to my Lord." Without further delay he returned to his inn, and passed the time in reciting the litanies of the Saints and other prayers, until it was time to attend the Council, where he obtained the extension of his term directly he asked for it. It is always best to demand and expect all things from the help of God.

At this juncture, while the Catholics in Scotland were awaiting banishment or some still worse sentence, the firmer and bolder spirits among them were seriously deliberating whether it was better for them to go on enduring being thus perpetually tortured and assailed by all sorts of inhuman and unheard-of engines of cruelty, or to give their lives at once for their faith, if they could obtain the condition that their wives and children, whose sufferings affected them more than their own, should be left in peace in their possessions and not molested by any one. They accordingly resolved to present a petition to the Council, in which, while offering their heads to the axe, they demanded in return that their wives and children, or other heirs, should be permitted to enjoy their temporal goods without disturbance or molestation. This petition would have been presented forthwith, only it struck every one as notorious that the King and the Councillors were determined not to put any Catholic to death for his religion, on account of the odium which such a proceeding would be sure to create in foreign countries.

Everything so far had proceeded in every respect according to the wishes of the ministers, and the one circumstance wanted to complete their triumph was next accomplished, by means of an atrocious conspiracy,

due to their machinations and those of other unscrupulous men. A local feud had for some time past been carried on between two barons, one named Gordon of Rothiemay,[1] and the other a Crichton. It culminated in a sort of pitched battle, in which Gordon, being inferior in numbers, though not in courage, was slain, and almost all his followers severely wounded. Crichton, who was only a spectator of the combat, lost one man, a friend and relative of his own. Gordon's death caused extreme annoyance to the Marquis of Huntly, and still more to his son, John Gordon, Viscount Melgum, and it was believed that in case Crichton was not put to death by sentence of the law, he meant to kill him and lay waste his lands by fire and sword. The eldest son of the man who had been slain, another John Gordon, a youth of bold temper and ready hand, was no less eager for vengeance, and there seemed very little doubt that they would actually do what they had threatened, for Crichton was a man of great wealth, and the judges were notoriously on his side, and enemies of the Gordon name, and there was but slender prospect of sentence being obtained from them.

Therefore the friends of both parties interfered, and it was agreed, principally through the exertions of Viscount Melgum, that the injury should be atoned for by the payment of a heavy sum of money. Crichton, however,

[1] John Gordon, Laird of Rothiemay, a bachelor, who was burnt in the House of Frendraught, on 8th October 1630, was the oldest unmarried son of William Gordon, Laird of Rothiemay, and of Katharine Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes.

His "father, William Gordon, Laird of Rothiemay, had been killed by the Laird of Frendraught, and the Laird of Banff Ogilvie, they being five score of men, horse and foot, and the Laird of Rothiemay having but ten horsemen, 2nd January 1630, so that if you reckon right you'll find only ten months 'twixt the killing of the father and the burning of the son." *House of Gordon*, by J. M. Bulloch, p. 24.

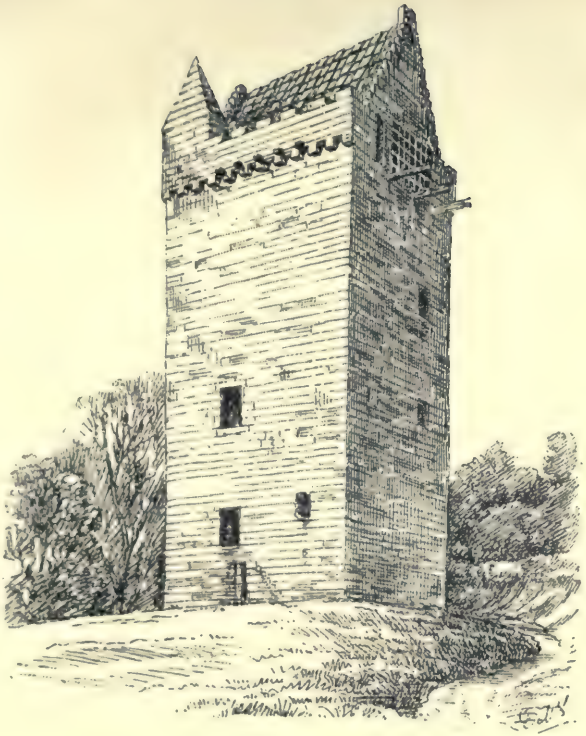
reflected that he would thus be enriching his enemy and placing the means of more ample vengeance in his hands, and he knew well that the fierce young Gordon would never falter in his purpose of revenge. He therefore deferred the payment of the money, under various pretexts, silently receiving the threats of reprisals which continually reached him, and brooding meanwhile over his own plans of vengeance.

There was another quarter from which danger threatened Crichton, for he had attacked and wounded without warning or provocation, one James Leslie; and the brother of the injured man Leslie, Baron of Pitcaple, vowed vengeance against him, and lay in wait for him as he was returning from a visit to the Marquis of Huntly, whose aid and authority he was anxious to obtain to effect his reconciliation with Leslie. Crichton had been informed of the ambush prepared for him, and entreated the Marquis to send a guard with him to escort him safely to his home, being well aware that without some assistance and the influence of the Marquis, his adversary would not fail to make an armed assault upon him. The Marquis, yielding to his importunity, desired his son, the Viscount Melgum, to conduct him safely to his castle of Frendraught.

Melgum thereupon obeyed reluctantly, as he himself acknowledged, and not without a presentiment of approaching evil; taking with him the same John Gordon, Baron of Rothiemay, who has been mentioned, and to whom Crichton promised to pay the sum of money agreed upon, that very day; asking him to bring with him a receipt and full release from all further prosecution of vengeance for his father's death, which he was to hand to Crichton on receiving the

money. They conducted Crichton in safety to the castle of Frendraught, Leslie making no attempt against him in consideration of friendship and consanguinity with the Marquis and his son. The Viscount had arranged to return the same day, at his father's request; but he was persuaded by the earnest solicitation of Crichton and his wife, who was the daughter of Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, both of whom expressed the warmest gratitude and affection towards him, to remain till the following day.

At midnight, and while they were all fast asleep, the tower in which the Viscount and his followers, and some other persons, were reposing, was set on fire; and before a spark of fire was visible there was a volume of smoke inside so thick as more than once to extinguish their candle when they lighted it. The Viscount, being roused from sleep, rose hastily from his couch, and tried to make his way into the hall, but was stopped by finding the door at the bottom of the staircase closed, nor could he work the lock, it being of foreign and very complicated workmanship. He then reascended the stairs, loudly and repeatedly shouting, "Fire! fire round us everywhere!" and passing through the chamber in which he had been sleeping ascended to the one above, to which the smoke had scarcely penetrated, in order to wake the Baron of Rothiemay. While he was doing this, and explaining that he had been almost suffocated, and that the tower and all its inmates were surrounded with flames, some men ran hastily down from the other tower, being roused by cries of fire from the hall, among them a domestic of Crichton who understood the construction of the lock, and opened the door, without which no one could have escaped. The two



HALLIBAR TOWER.

Window bars, such as played so deadly a part in Frendraught, are here clearly seen.

FYVIE CASTLE.

(See pp. 295-7.)

From MacGibbon and Ross's "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland" (D. Douglass).

lords had no doubt that Crichton had set fire to the granary, which was contiguous, or to some part of the palace itself. But before they could get down the stairs the tower was filled with smoke, and the flames blazed up with so much violence that they caught the roof and rafters of the chamber, only the stone floor remaining uninjured, and then the beams and flooring which led from the chamber to the top of the stairs caught fire and were consumed, so that it was impossible to leave the room without the certainty of plunging into the raging flames beneath.

The Viscount Melgum and the Baron, with four of their attendants, were thus cut off from all means of escape. The attempt either to ascend or descend would involve terrible and instant death, and the windows afforded no means of retreat, owing to the torrents of smoke and flame which poured through them, and the iron bars with which they were protected. They implored the bystanders to give them some assistance, but these cried out that it was absolutely impossible to render any, owing to the rapid progress the fire was making. They perceived that, under God, their only hope of escape lay in themselves, and resolved to attempt to ascend into the higher story, where there was a window without bars, through which they might leap down to the ground, though with imminent peril to their lives. They made an attempt to get up, with the full knowledge that this other mode of death was only an escape from the torture of perishing by the flames, but they could not succeed, and they then threw themselves upon the protection of God, which even bad men will generally do in circumstances of extreme danger,

often and loudly imploring courage to endure the appalling fate which awaited them.

Melgum was a brave and noble youth, of pious disposition, and regular in the discharge of the duties of his religion, and his principal thought was of the refreshment of heaven, where both earthly and eternal fire will be quenched in the ocean of celestial joy, and his care and anxiety were not only for himself, for the charity of good men will not grow cold anywhere, and certainly not in the midst of flames. He endeavoured to make his own terrible fate a means of securing the salvation of others, and his companions in torment the partners also of the joy to which he looked forward. He began earnestly to exhort them all to the detestation of their sins, to accept the Catholic faith, which he alone of all their number had received, and bravely and patiently to endure the horrible death which they expected, for love of Him who had redeemed them by His most bitter death upon the Cross. He addressed himself principally to the chief of Rothiemay, whom he named by that title, according to the custom of the country. "O Rothiemay, Rothiemay, it was for you, I suppose, that this barbarous and horrible death by fire was intended, in the first instance, yet I can see that I had something to do with it also. Never mind this; it is useless complaining now. Let us say farewell to earth, Rothiemay; and through this smoke and flame look up to heaven. Even through fire there is a way to heaven. But you will never reach it without the true faith, which is no other than the Catholic Roman faith, and in that you must die, or else perish for ever."

"Woe is me," replied the other, "how can I now die in that faith, since I have been brought up and

always professed a different one? Yet, however I may have lived, I will die with you in your faith." All who were present, it is almost certain, made the same profession; of so much importance is it in whose society you live, and in whose you die.

"It is well," pursued the Viscount: "I will lead, and do you follow me," and thereupon, all the others following him, he recited the Lord's prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the symbol of faith, and then the Confiteor with the verses that follow. Lastly, they all, the Viscount still leading them—for those who have good hope can rejoice and take courage even in the extremity of peril and torment—began the recitation of the Te Deum, but they only had time for a few verses, when the termination of their mortal life brought them, as we may reasonably believe, to the entrance of that which is immortal.[1]

All the Catholics in Scotland felt this as the most terrible and lamentable blow that had fallen upon them, or could have fallen upon them, in the whole course of the persecution. For this illustrious young nobleman afforded to all his fellow-countrymen a brilliant example of constancy in the Catholic faith, and often earnestly

[1] The fire involved the whole of the inmates in destruction, except Chalmers, Rollock, and a servant who slept beside Lord Melgum. Swift as the fire was, three persons escaped, and Lord Melgum might have also saved himself, if he had not, under a friendly impulse, run upstairs to rouse Rothiemay. Meanwhile the timber passage and lofting of the chamber took fire, so that none of them could win downstairs again.

It is stated by Lady Melgum's chaplain, that in that last moment of extremity, Lord Melgum induced Rothiemay to make open profession of the Catholic faith; and so, "they two being at a window, and whilst their legs were burning, did sing together 'Te Deum'; which ended, they did tell at the window that their legs were consumed, recommending their souls to God, and the nobleman his wife and child, first to God, and then to the King." *Cf.* Spalding, *History of the Troubles;* Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, anno 1630; and J. M. Bulloch, *House of Gordon;* vol. ii., p. 69.

exhorted them to stand firm, promising them his protection and support. He was an object of great dread to the heretic clergy, because it was reported, truly or falsely, that he fiercely and earnestly opposed them, which opinion, held by many, rendered him dear to the Catholics, and hated by their foes. His removal left the one party mourning the loss of their principal protector, the others rejoicing and triumphant. There is too great reason to suspect that the barbarous and unheard-of manner of his death was designed by the heretic clergy and executed through their encouragement and exhortation.

It is perfectly certain that the ill-omened tower of Frendraught was not set on fire by accident, or by any carelessness or neglect of the owners of the castle, or of their household, and it could not have been done by an enemy from without, for its structure and situation renders such a supposition impossible. It is equally certain that the fire was kindled by human hands, as the very appearance and aspect of the building proved at the time it was burning. It was almost entirely filled with smoke before a spark of fire or the slightest flicker of a flame was visible, and it was not the kind of smoke which would have proceeded from dry beams and planks, but more suffocating and oppressive, like that produced from a mass of sulphur, tar, oakum, and gunpowder, and other similar materials, when set on fire. Parts of the building which were remote from apparent danger, such as the planks leading from the chamber to the staircase, caught fire before the rest. The summit of the roof of the highest story caught fire before the flooring was broken through. I am assured of this by the testimony, given on oath, of a man who escaped from that very chamber by throw-

ing himself from the window down into the garden. And the whole tower, which was solidly built, the floors consisting of huge beams and rafters of oak, was found almost in a single moment blazing from the ground to the roof, and burned to ashes with astonishing rapidity, before the eyes of the astounded and horror-stricken spectators.

The lord of the castle of Frendraught was a man of notoriously proud and malevolent disposition, either a heretic or an atheist, much given to brood over ancient wrongs and injuries, and disposed to doubt of the sincerity of the recent friendship which the Gordon family had contracted with him. This man had held many secret conferences, a few days before the conflagration, and at other times, with the heretic Bishop of Moray, a man of crafty and arrogant character; and he was so greedy of money that he had grown rich by wealth acquired in transactions that were iniquitous and infamous. On the night of the fire some of those who had escaped came upon him in the hall, and found him doubly armed; nor did he make any pretence of being desirous to render any assistance to those who were in danger, and frequently assured one of the Viscount's servants that the Viscount had descended from the tower, and was out of danger.

The Marquis failed in bringing him to justice, for the judges, most iniquitously and wickedly, accepted an enormous bribe to acquit him; but almost every one else, even those who were enemies of the Gordon name, believed Crichton to be guilty, and that this terrible crime was both his contrivance and his deed. Then there was the unnecessary and apparently capricious and purposeless invitation pressed upon these young Catholic noblemen. And lastly, the guilt of this terrible crime

was thrown upon the Laird of Pitcaple, and on a person allied to him, and a number of false witnesses were suborned, who were afterwards convicted in open court of swearing untruly that these were the authors and executors of the murder, and all honest men were reasonably surprised that this audacious attempt to throw suspicion in a wrong quarter was not of itself sufficient to ensure the conviction of the real offender. It is impossible to draw any conclusion but one from all this circumstantial evidence, and I could have added very many more facts. The consideration of all these things has led many of us, without undue presumption, to rank this guileless young man, who so holily and bravely endured the fearful death prepared for him, among the white-robed army of martyrs,[1] and thus, though with the profoundest grief, we are now able to return a clear answer to those who raise this persecution against the Catholic religion in Scotland, and who reproach us that we have not as yet contended to blood.

There was never any force in the objection, for no persecution could be more cruel and calamitous, or more calculated to excite compassion for its victims, than that which is directed against the eternal welfare of their souls, and it has been often proved that the

[1] Lord John Gordon of Melgin [Melgum] and Aboyne had married Sophia Hay, daughter to the Earl of Errol, with whom he begat one daughter, Henret Gordon, who became Maid of Honour to Princess Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans. "It's here remarkable that before this tragical accident the said Family of Frendraught, was in as flourishing a condition as any of their rank in the North, and tho' they were not to be reached by the law after tryal, yet it seems the Secret but just judgment of God so pursued them that their Estate suddenly vanished away like the morning dew, and their posterity evanished, scarcely being any now living to represent them, and besides all who ever matched with that family were liable to signal misfortunes. Meldrum of Hatton being put to a legal tryal for that horrid murder, suffered upon the account of *malum minatum et damnum secutum*."—*House of Gordon*, p. 24, by J. M. Bulloch.

persecution which inflicts most injury on the Church is that which is carried on by flattery, by the inducements of passing and temporal advantages, and by loss of property and exile, without the infliction of death, which is much worse than when it proceeds on its course drunk with the blood of martyrs, amid cruel torments and ruthless destruction of life; for the blood of martyrs is truly the seed of the Church.

I know that the staunchest Catholics are wont to declare that it would not only be a happier and far preferable lot, which they would take without hesitation, if the choice were given them, to exchange this life for a better one by shedding their blood as martyrs, and one which a brave and noble disposition would infinitely rather endure, than to see all their possessions sold by auction, their lands laid waste, their wives and children, dearer to them than themselves, exposed to cold and hunger, without sufficient clothing, sinking under these sufferings, and themselves reduced to destitution, obliged to beg their bread in their own country or among strangers. This is not said to excuse the fault of those who lapse, but to make it plain and evident that these Catholic exiles ought to be considered as brave and faithful Catholic soldiers of Christ, worthy of being assisted with all good Christian offices and support. Most especially are those who have remained in their native land, most worthy of all praise; and if the nature and conditions of the existing persecution tend to multiply the numbers of the lapsed and reduce the faithful to a handful, that is the more reason for contriving and applying some decisive and effectual remedy, and that without the loss of a single moment.

The assured conviction of all of us who are engaged

on this mission—a conviction from which nothing but the most positive evidence derived from experience will turn us aside—is that, unless the Catholic cause in this kingdom obtains some stronger and more influential support, and from higher quarters than that which has been supplied to it principally by our mission, and which has now completely failed, it must be, not, we trust, absolutely overthrown, but incapable of restoration to its ancient supremacy and splendour. Men who have been many years absent from Scotland, and judge of its present condition from a few brief letters, which do not always give an accurate account, such as we know are occasionally addressed to the Sacred Congregation *De propaganda fide*, and others of similar character resting on these shadowy imaginings, and making, as to our affairs, a rough and ready picture of a state of things which exists only in their own fantasy, may hope and believe that this vineyard, if only the workers in it were diligent and devoted, might be completely cleared of the thorns of wickedness and heresy, and return to its former fruitfulness and beauty. We are quite certain these men would, at once and without demur, alter their opinion, if they could only understand the attitude and aspect of the Government of this country, and consider all the acts of parliament, so often renewed and confirmed, the orders of the Council, the proceedings, character, and opinions of the statesmen who compose it, the views and sentiments of the clergy, their almost lunatic hatred, their plots and contrivances, their obstinate pertinacity, the character and acts of the King, how good men are reduced in number, and how small is their political influence, the hopelessness of any revocation of sentence of exile, the perseverance of the

lapsed in the errors they have embraced. To this the fact must be added that certain ecclesiastical authorities maintain the lawfulness of attending the sermons of the heretics, a fact which may possibly be brought to more clear and evident proof hereafter.

It is like ploughing the sea-shore for any one who is not practically acquainted with the condition and circumstances of the various missions in this kingdom, the state of the country, the nature of the people and of the land, to think he can elaborate any scheme adapted to root out heresy and restore religion. I only wish that those who have been long engaged on this mission, and have complete acquaintance with the political state of the kingdom and the character of its people, could succeed in carrying out, as easily as they could devise and invent, any means of restoring the Roman faith with certainty and without the lapse of any great length of time.

I must now return to the proscribed Catholics, many of whom, having determined not to abandon their faith, were sentenced to banishment by the Council. The sentence was pronounced in their presence, but they have not all obeyed, and they have acted the more boldly in this respect on account of Lord Gordon having resigned the commission of apprehending the Catholics; for as long as he held it, they knew they could not expect the slightest concession as regards the extension of the time allowed them, while they adhered to their faith. They could not gain anything by going abroad, even if they were sure they would all be allowed to return and resume possession of their property; and feeling that banishment would bring them no sort of advantage, and that they would find it difficult under such circumstances to obtain payment

even of the third part of their income, which was all that would be left them, they resolved not to go away, but make the attempt to retain possession of their property without abandoning their faith, or else stand the chance of losing it all at once, with manifest danger to their lives as well.

Some other Catholics of hesitating faith and little courage, to whom the prospect of banishment to a foreign country appeared almost intolerable, as indeed it was, wavered in their resolution, and although they had subscribed the sentence of exile, began, contrary to all expectation, to listen to base suggestions. While therefore some were leaving the country, and others shamefully going over to the enemies' camp, the persecution was directed in its full force against such as remained after their term was expired. They were first of all cited to appear, on the 24th of February, before the Council, in the King's name and authority, at the instigation of the ministers, and on the motion of Thomas Hope, the King's advocate, to be informed that they had incurred the penalties rehearsed in their sentence of exile, such being the language used in the writs served upon them, and if they did not appear they would incur the penalties of high treason and confiscation of all their goods. But before the arrival of the date fixed by the Council for their appearance they were strictly commanded by other letters, also in the name and by the authority of the King, to quit their houses within fifteen days, leaving them under charge of the King's officers, for the whole term of their excommunication and rebellion, and to repair to the castle of Blackness, there to remain at their own expense for the whole of the said period, under penalty of rebellion and forfeiture of all their goods.

During this year peace was concluded and made between the Kings of England and Spain, a circumstance which at first occasioned great rejoicing to the afflicted Catholics, with the hope of putting an end to the persecution, or at least of mitigating its severity. This hope has proved groundless, and we are left to the help of God alone; for human aid is either withdrawn from us altogether, or is wholly unequal to cope with the evils which press upon us.[1]

The Ballad of the Burning of Frendraught

A ballad is still sung in the district around Frendraught, which, says Motherwell, has a high degree of poetic merit, and probably was written at the time by an eyewitness of the event which it records; for there is a horrid vivacity of colouring and circumstantial minuteness in the description of the agonies of the

[1] Extract from a letter of Father John Leslie, 18th of June 1633, to Father General Mutius Vitelleschi.—"The Marquis of Huntly set on foot an inquiry into the murder of his son, the particulars of which were given in my letter of last year, with a view to bring the murderers to justice. But the Council, and more particularly the President, the Earl of Menteith, who is also the supreme judge in criminal causes and the highest judicial authority in the kingdom, frustrated these efforts from the first. This was the more extraordinary, because the King wrote very frequently to the Council on the subject, clearly intimating his pleasure that a strict inquiry should be made as to the authors of this terrible crime, and ordering that a prisoner in chains, who was believed to have taken part in it, should be examined by torture. This the President and the other members of the court openly declared they would not do, and there was an obvious reason for their refusal, for all the heretical party, and especially the clergy and the prelates, were extremely apprehensive about the progress of this cause, which would expose the plots and designs they had formed against the life of the most powerful defender of the Catholics and the orthodox faith in Scotland: one whose life was dear to all good men, and who had suffered a cruel and barbarous death by fire."—*Stonyhurst* MSS., 22*nd January* 1631.

unhappy sufferers, which none but a spectator could have given.[1]

"It may at least be conjectured," says Mr John Stuart, "that the ballad has preserved the recent impressions which the sad event had made on the minds of the country people. It is also the subject of two poems by Arthur Johnston, under the following titles, 'Querela Sophiæ Hayæ, Dominæ de Melgeine, de morte mariti,' and 'De Joanne Gordonio, Vicecomite de Melgein, et Joanne Gordonio de Rothimay in arce Frendriaca combustis.'"—*Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, vol. i., pp. 585, 587.

The following version of the ballad from Motherwell's work is believed to be the best.

THE EIGHTEENTH OF OCTOBER

The eighteenth of October,
A dismal tale to hear,
How good Lord John and Rothiemay,
Was both burnt in the fire.

When steeds was saddled and well bridled
And ready for to ride,
Then out came her and false Frendraught
Inviting them to bide.

Said—"Stay this night untill we sup,
The morn untill we dine;
'Twill be a token of good 'greement
'Twixt your good Lord and mine."

"We'll turn again," said good Lord John,
"But no," said Rothiemay—
"My steed's trapan'd, my bridle's broken,
I fear the day I'm fey."

[1] *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern*, p. 161, with an Historical Introduction and Notes, by William Motherwell, Glasgow, 1827.

When mass was sung, and bells was rung,
And all men bound for bed,
Then good Lord John and Rothiemay
In one chamber was laid.

They had not long cast off their cloaths,
And were but now asleep—
When the weary smoke began to rise,
Likewise the scorching heat.

"O waken, waken, Rothiemay,
O waken, brother dear,
And turn you to our Saviour,
There is strong treason here."

When they were dressed in their cloaths,
And ready for to boun;
The doors and windows was all secur'd
The roof-tree burning down.

He did him to the wire-window
As fast as he could gang—
Says—"Wae to the hands put in the stancheons,
For out we'll never win."

When he stood at the wire-window,
Most doleful to be seen,
He did espy her, Lady Frendraught,
Who stood upon the green.

Cried—"Mercy, mercy, Lady Frendraught,
Will ye not sink with sin?
For first your husband killed my father,
And now you burn his son."

O then out spoke her, Lady Frendraught,
And loudly did she cry—
"It were great pity for good Lord John,
But none for Rothiemay.
But the keys are casten in the deep draw-well,
Ye cannot get away."

While he stood in this dreadful plight,
Most piteous to be seen,
There called out his servant Gordon,
As he had frantic been.

"O loup, O loup, my dear master,
O loup and come to me;
I'll catch you in my arms two,
One foot I will not flee.

"O loup, O loup, my dear master,
O loup and come away;
I'll catch you in my arms two,
But Rothiemay may lie.

"The fish shall never swim in the flood,
Nor corn grow through the clay,
Nor the fiercest fire that ever was kindled
Twin me and Rothiemay."

"But I cannot loup, I cannot come,
I cannot win to thee;
My head's fast in the wire-window,
My feet burning from me.

"My eyes are seething in my head,
My flesh roasting also,
My bowels are boiling with my blood;
Is not that a woeful woe?

"Take here the rings from my white fingers,
That are so long and small,
And give them to my Lady fair,
Where she sits in her hall.

"So I cannot loup, I cannot come,
I cannot loup to thee—
My earthly part is all consumed,
My spirit but speaks to thee."

Wringing her hands, tearing her hair,
His lady she was seen,
And thus addressed his servant Gordon,
Where he stood on the green.

"O wae be to you, George Gordon,
An ill death may you die,
So safe and sound as you stand there,
And my Lord bereaved from me."

"I bad him loup, I bad him come,
I bad him loup to me,
I'd catch him in my arms two,
A foot I should not flee.

"He threw me the rings from his white fingers,
Which were so long and small,
To give to you, his Lady fair,
Where you sat in your hall."

Sophia Hay, Sophia Hay,
O, bonny Sophia was her name—[1]
Her waiting-maid put on her cloaths,
But I wat she tore them off again.

And aft she cried, "Ohon! alas, alas!
A sair heart's ill to win;
I wan a sair heart when I married him,
And the day it's well returned again."

There is a note at the end of the ballad to the effect that, according to tradition, when the well was cleared out, the keys were found.

[1] Sophia Hay, fifth daughter of Francis, Earl of Errol, afterwards styled Lady Aboyne. See below, p. 233.

CHAPTER III

A LULL IN THE STORM—1631-1636

Introductory Note

At the beginning of this period the enemy were as furious as ever. Day after day Catholics had to leave their country and possessions for religion's sake (p. 117). The story of the sufferings of Alexander Leslie of Conrak, a man well known for his constancy in the faith, will serve as an example of what many had to undergo.

Having given hospitality to his brothers, Father John and Father Andrew Leslie, the anger of the Synod was roused, and they resolved to apprehend him (p. 120). It was even proposed to set his house on fire secretly (p. 120). Alexander, brave man though he was, had to leave his house of nights and to join the Catholics on the hills. But the Protestant bishop afterwards relaxed the persecution.

Catholics were beginning to think, that the only sure way of protecting themselves was to show a bold front (p. 122). Their resolution averted a general massacre of all Catholics. Alexander, nevertheless, was declared a rebel, guilty of high treason. His friends and relatives were prohibited from sending him household supplies. Obstacles were put to his burying his sister (p. 123), and all relatives who went to the funeral were summoned to the bar of the Calvinist ministers (p. 124).

Whilst, on the one hand, fresh measures were taken at Whitsuntide 1632. William Guild, a minister, was appointed to promote a general persecution (p. 126). On the other hand, King Charles, as appears from the sequel, wrote about this time to the Council, saying that he recognised the Catholics as faithful subjects of the Crown (p. 126), and commanding that they should not be assailed by armed force, nor turned out of their homes.

Alexander was, nevertheless, singled out and denounced in the King's name as a rebel of fourteen years' standing, on account of his adherence to the Catholic faith, and he was required to give in an account of all his rents and profits during that time, and pay the whole amount over to the Treasury (p. 127). Similar writs of summons were prepared to bring all Catholics before the Courts, and their property was to form part of the revenues of the Crown (p. 128). All sorts of plans and designs were to be used to drive Catholics to actual desperation and to compel them to throw themselves as suppliants at the feet of ministers. This being the case, some Catholics of the highest character, both men and women, resolved to emigrate (p. 129). Many, however, were determined to suffer the utmost degree of persecution rather than leave Scotland (p. 131), and some, like James Forbes of Blacktoun, baffled the assaults of their enemies by their courage and resolution (pp. 131-133).

Father John Seton was preparing to convey some young men to Spain to commence the seminary at Madrid. The bishops, hearing of this, secured the detention of the boys, and obtained an order from the Council forbidding that boys should ever be sent to Douay (p. 137).

Things did not, in every case, turn out according to the wishes of the persecutors. Charges were brought before the King against the High Chancellor, the Lord Advocate, the President of the Council, of bribery, of sale of justice, and of disloyalty. The Earl of Menteith, a bitter persecutor, put forth ambitious claims to the earldom of Strathearn, which ended by damaging him not a little (pp. 140-143).

It would not be difficult to multiply cases of cruelty shown to Catholics. Two noble ladies were assailed and violently struck by a preacher, and a nobleman was prosecuted for having gallantly defended his wife (p. 139). After having spent two years in prison, the Laird of Craig, who was eighty years of age, was compelled to go abroad to France. With him went Duncan Gordon, also of advanced age (p. 143).

That the persecution was a religious persecution is clear for many reasons. But for Calvinist censures, the Catholics of Scotland would have been left in peace and quiet (p. 149). Acts of Parliaments or Orders of the Council were never passed unless in the presence and at the request of the bishops (p. 150).

Looking back on the course of the persecution thus far, we find that there were from time to time a considerable number of

converts, and sometimes the fathers had the consolation of doing much good by preaching and instruction. Multitudes of Catholics held firmly to their faith, many had gone into exile, and had lost all their possessions for their religion (p. 129).

On the 18th of June 1633 King Charles was crowned King of Scotland in Edinburgh, with a ceremonial closely resembling that of the Catholics, and thereupon inaugurated a new religious policy. It was now the turn of the Calvinists to find the law set in motion against them. The Catholics did not indeed at once recover liberty, but ere long the conflicts about the Service-book left the field clear for the Catholics to reap a rich harvest (p. 170), and this, though in many places, and at most times they might be injured with impunity, and had no chance of a hearing in the courts of justice.

So far, indeed, was the perversion of justice sometimes carried, that we find the aged Marquis of Huntly tried, condemned, and imprisoned to atone for the burning of Frendraught! (p. 177). In the end, however, his innocence was proved to the satisfaction both of King and Parliament, and he was set at liberty on the 28th of May 1636. His earthly pilgrimage was drawing to a close. On the 3rd of June he set off homewards, but his ailments grew upon him, and at Dundee he could go no further, and he rendered his soul to God on the 15th of June 1636 (p. 184).

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

Pax Christi.

The persecution still rages in Scotland. Several noblemen are taken, and many sent into exile, and some noble ladies. I have written more fully to Father Elphinstone. The Father Superior will have to send over several of the Fathers to me here. Father Robert Mortimer and Father John Stephen can hardly be safe even here, if they come. I have mentioned the wishes of Father Robert Valens in another letter; he has laboured long in Scotland, with much fruit. The Father Superior has again reminded me of him.

I wrote also about the property given us in Germany. I hope your Reverence will kindly let some of us go and take possession, and offer my services.

Father James Seton wanted to go back to Scotland, after receiving the inheritance in Germany, to comfort his mother, a noble lady advanced in years. She will feel it much if she does not see her son before she dies and have his spiritual help. There are very few of ours in that country—Scotland—and none in that part of it. Your Reverence must consider what is best to do in the present state of Scotland: I should not think it desirable just now. I earnestly commend myself to your Reverence.

Your Reverence's son in Christ,

JOHN ROB.

AMSTERDAM, 22*nd January* 1631.

FATHER JAMES MACBRECK *to* FATHER GENERAL VITELLESCHI (*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

This is the fourth letter I have written to your Reverence since I came to this laborious and difficult Mission, and I have spent five perilous years in this country. A year and a half ago I sent your Reverence, with my last letter but one, some decrees of our Calvinist clergy and the King's Council then just published against the Catholic sons of the Holy Roman Church, and a copy of the King's order conferring power upon the said clergy and Council to impose certain penalties upon Catholics. The enemy are as furious as ever, and there is no sign of the stilling of the tempest. Every day some leave their

country and possessions for their religion; many —alas!—find it a hard saying, and the Enemy and his ministers are bent on rooting out or destroying the good seed sown by the Master in this sterile soil, in years gone by. But the Lord's hand is not shortened, as I hope; for God is faithful, who will with the temptation give a way of escape. Many come over every day from heresy to the Catholic faith, but keep it secret, for fear of the heretics. Truly this Mission is in want of spiritual help, if any in God's Church is. The prayers and sacrifices of holy men alone can obtain Divine grace for our Catholics to suffer the last extremity, for God's glory and the salvation of souls. I only wish our Protestant clergy and the other heretics could be satisfied with my blood, if it were God's will, so that the storm of persecution might cease. I commend myself and this afflicted Scottish mission to the most Holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Paternity.

Your most devoted servant and son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

EDINBURGH, 7th *October* 1631.

Annual Letter for 1632 (*Stonyhurst* MSS.)[1]

THIS year has been a great deal more fruitful in trouble and patience than in any other kind of harvest, as was only to be expected from the account given above of those which preceded it. The Fathers of the Society were eleven in number. Three of these arrived from Holland on the 24th of February, after waiting a long

[1] This letter, signed J[ohn] L[eslie], S.J., and dated 13th June 1633, is directed to the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father Mutius Vitelleschi, Superior General of the Society of Jesus.

time in Belgium for the opportunity of crossing the sea. Father John Seton came from Spain with the object of finding some young men to form the nucleus of the new college at Madrid. Father Thomas Rob and Father Andrew Leslie arrived safely from Rome, escaping the terrible pestilence which devastated Italy, the war which raged throughout Germany, and the secret conspiracies which threatened their lives in Belgium. Father Andrew brought from Father John Rob, the moderator of all the mission, a letter from our Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi, appointing Father Robert Valens our new superior. On the receipt of this letter, Father William Leslie, who was then the superior, lost no time in making known the appointment of Father Robert as his successor, and gave information of it to all the Fathers in Scotland. At the end of September, Father Thomas Abernethy arrived from France. He passed through London on his way, where he had much conversation with the most serene Queen of England on the subject of the sufferings of the Catholics in Scotland, and suggested a plan of obtaining from the King some approach to freedom and toleration, which she most kindly undertook to further. There seemed to be a dawn of hope for the Catholics, a report having been spread that the King was about to visit Scotland, but it soon vanished again, the victories of the King of Sweden, so at least the heretics thought, having not yet reached their term. The persecution has accordingly continued in its old course.

In the north, the Bishop of Moray and many of the Calvinist ministers of that diocese have made great exertions for the apprehension of Alexander Leslie,

on account of his remarkable constancy in the Catholic faith and open detestation of heresy. He has always refused to hold any negotiation with the heretics with regard to matters of faith, has in no particular given in to their hatred of the orthodox religion, would not have a Calvinist minister present at his marriage, which nearly all Catholics permit, would not let them baptize his children, which many wished him to do, and would never go to hear them preach, which is enjoined under cruel penalties by the laws of Scotland, in the hope of its leading to a profession of heresy and abandonment of Roman Catholic piety,—and this however severely he might suffer, or had suffered, for his refusal to comply with their wishes. Their anger was increased by his having frequently received his brothers and other Fathers of our Society in former times into his house, and protected them from plots made to capture them while travelling about, and on many other occasions. They were therefore bitterly incensed against him, considering him one of those who most prominently and openly despised their authority and set them at naught. At last they learned by their spies that he had both Fathers of the Society staying at his house, and they considered this an excellent opportunity of bringing to a conclusion the design they had so often projected.

They convoked their synod, as is their custom, and met in large numbers, and the ministers, as we learned afterwards, considered it to their honour to vie with one another in their invectives against Alexander. First they resolved to apprehend him, but someone reminded them that it would not be so easy for men unaccustomed to bear arms to make a brave man a prisoner without bloodshed. They then proposed to set the house on fire secretly, and other similar suggestions were made,

and if these measures proved of no avail, and the strong man was not to be subdued by terror, they determined they would call upon the illustrious John Leslie, Earl of Rothes, the chief of his house, who was believed to be inclined to support Alexander as being his follower and clansman, to take steps to bring him to obedience. Sothey endeavoured to prejudice the Earl against him, and if they had succeeded in doing this, the stubborn recusant would apparently have had no refuge left but submission.

But Alexander, brave man though he was, did not think it worth while to attack his foes, and he thought it best not to pass the nights in his own house, while there was reason to suppose that secret measures of this kind were being planned against him; and accompanied by Father Andrew Leslie, he repaired to the hills and hid himself in the forests and among the rough defiles of the mountain. They comforted one another as well as they could, with prayers to God their preserver, and His Virgin Mother Mary, and all the Saints. Their couch was formed of the boughs of trees and stalks of the heather which grows everywhere plentifully in Scotland, the first serving for mattress and the last for down, although Father Andrew was in a very bad state of health, owing to his long and laborious wanderings in Italy. At last the bishop desisted from his purpose, though he was the most enraged and furious of them all against Alexander, the Fathers, and all the Catholics. It was not fickleness, much less any kind feeling towards his enemy which induced him to yield, but he thought it best not to endanger his own life, so valuable to his wife and children, his friends, and the cause of the new gospel, and this course he did not think unworthy of his dignity.

The Catholics now see that the only sure way of protecting themselves is to show a bold front to their opponents, and not submit to be made prisoners and crushed by any one who chooses to use violence against them. They cannot have their throats cut without the King's order; and death, the plunder of their houses, the burning of their crops, are what they will not submit to at the hands of the vilest of mankind. Acting on this resolution they not infrequently repulsed successfully the attacks which their enemies made upon them. Had they not done so, there is no doubt there would be an organised attempt to massacre all the Catholics in a body together, and that such an attempt would be very easily carried into effect; only they know they have to deal with brave men, not to be assailed with impunity. Indeed they would have before now driven all the Catholics out of the kingdom, and killed the few who ventured to remain, if they had not made the discovery that some of them are quite capable of resistance, and quite disposed to it, and are resolutely determined to assert their right of remaining in their native land, all the proclamations and orders of the Government notwithstanding, and not permit their faith to be totally uprooted in Scotland, and the blasphemies of Calvin left in undisputed possession of the country.

The spite of the bishop was nevertheless not entirely inactive. Alexander Leslie had a young son of ten years of age, who was at school, and lodged and boarded in the house of a relative, and the bishop insisted that the boy should be expelled from the school and not permitted any instruction; and by the envy and contrivance of the devil it happened at the same time that the child was

almost crushed to death by the violence of some of his schoolfellows, who were heretics, two or three of whom seized and squeezed him so cruelly, that he was seriously injured and contracted some grave malady in consequence.

Alexander's friends and relatives, who used to send household supplies from the neighbouring town of Elgin to his residence, were prohibited from showing him this attention for the future, under penalty of the heretic anathema. He was further formally, and in full congregation, excommunicated twice every year from the pulpits of all the ministers of the diocese of Moray, where he lived; and the same sentence was fulminated also in the neighbouring parish of Murthly, which is subject to the Protestant prelate of Aberdeen, because a great number of Alexander's relatives, who are of gentle blood, reside in that place. By this sentence he is declared a rebel guilty of high treason, according to the statutes passed by authority of Parliament in the reign of King James the Sixth. All persons whatsoever are warned not to salute him when they meet him, not to transact any commerce or business with him, and not to speak to him. The farmers of his land are not to pay their rent to him, and no one who owes him money is to pay the debt. He is to be avoided and execrated as unworthy of all human association.

His enemies did not even accord him permission to bury his sister, who died during the year, and if he had not broken open the doors and caused the body to be carried into the church, they would not have been opened to him. When his relatives returned from the funeral, the Calvinist ministers, who happened to be just then holding their assembly, summoned them to

their bar, for having accompanied a man who was under the ban of their anathema and was as it were cast out of the synagogue, and had conversed and interchanged courtesies with him.

One circumstance there was that occasioned this brave man very great annoyance, even in the midst of so many calamities and sufferings, and this was that certain brethren spread a report among the Catholics that he was accustomed to indulge too freely in feasting and drinking with the Jesuits, so that, while the devil could not shake his constancy in the Catholic faith, he succeeded in depriving him of the name and reputation of a good Catholic. They would have been nearer the truth if they had said that while suffering for Christ he feasted and drank freely of the joy and delight of heaven. These very brethren he had himself often entertained at his house, and carried them on his own shoulders across the rivers in the depth of winter, when in this country it is often impossible for the horses to ford the streams, the portion of the bank on both sides near the water being a sheet of ice, and the rapid current in the midst of the stream, with the water at freezing temperature, is more than their strength can withstand.

And we ought not to wonder that a man so bold and unyielding in his confession of the Roman faith should receive such a reward for his kindness from the hands of man, for he who fights for God must from God expect his crown. The honour of suffering in so glorious a cause was in some sense hereditary in his family. Both his grandfathers and his father's mother died in the orthodox faith when the heresy first took its rise. His maternal grand-

mother endured persecution for a long series of years, her house being plundered twice in the reign of James VI. Both his parents suffered very heavily and severely for the faith for thirty years, and having persevered in this endurance to the end of their lives, were brought to their deathless reward. It would be unreasonable to dwell so long upon the noble career of one individual, except that a writer feels ashamed not to do so, while recalling how patiently he suffered all that is here related; but for the rest I will proceed to tell what concerns him as well as other Catholics, whom the madness of their enemies permits, if I may say so, neither to live nor die.

About the feast of Pentecost, on the assembly of the diocesan conventions in the north, the bishops and ministers, always alarmists, resolved to send round notices of citation, not only to Catholics who adhered to their faith, but to those also who had lapsed into heresy, requiring them to come forward and make oath in the ecclesiastical courts that they were free from the guilt of high treason and rebellion, which they would have incurred by giving hospitality either to Jesuits or to other popish priests, who were accustomed to say Mass.

Some few came in to take the oath. But this foolish and harsh proceeding proved of no advantage whatever to the heretic cause. No one, not even of the lapsed, during this year—for everything has been altered since—could bring himself to refuse hospitality and the shelter of his roof to the priest. For although the lapsed have not been able, for other reasons, to persuade themselves to follow the directions of a priest, they freely consort and associate with them, and think it an honour to acknowledge it openly, even when persecution is at its worst. Whereas they do not conceal

their detestation of the arts by which the Calvinists endeavour to inveigle the people, and the barbarous ferocity with which they seek to terrify them. The goodwill and friendly feeling of the lapsed has not abandoned them, and though they have openly and externally renounced their faith, they have not thrown aside the wish of serving and advancing it.

The heretics devised another mode, which their restless zeal suggested, of threatening and injuring the Catholics. This was a general and comprehensive prosecution by law of all Catholics whatever, of any order or degree, and of all persons who in any way supported or favoured their cause, to be carried out under the authority of a new act of parliament, the decrees of which body are regarded in Scotland as having an inviolable and sacred character. They made choice of the minister, William Guild, a bitter opponent of the Catholics, who had been engaged in similar enterprises before, as their agent in promoting this object. It is thought likely to be his last embassy to the Scottish Parliament, and he is said to have bound himself by an oath never to undertake anything of the sort again. It is said that the High Chancellor of the kingdom publicly, in his place in the House of Lords, called him a troublesome and factious person, on the following grounds. The Chancellor produced a letter from the King, addressed to the members of the Council, and more especially to the Calvinist bishops, in which he declared that he recognised the papists, by whom he meant the Catholics, as faithful subjects of the Crown, on which account they ought not to be any further molested on the score of religion, this being a necessary condition of preserving a good understanding with foreign princes.

This public and explicit declaration of the King's favour was probably altogether a fiction; at any rate it met with no response or approval from the Council, as will be abundantly evident from what I shall have to relate in my letter of next year. Guild's attempt was, however, not without some result, inasmuch as it established the certainty of what we partly knew before, that peace having been concluded with the Catholic King, our King Charles had intimated his commands to his Council, that his Catholic subjects were not to be assailed by armed force and with open violence, or turned out of their homes, and their houses pulled to the ground, their property disposed of by public auction for what it would fetch, or continually crushed by the authority of fresh acts of parliament, their possessions gradually reduced to nothing, and themselves kept always in apprehension and anxiety. This circumstance is proved by what occurred at the time I am describing, and the events of the following year, in which I am now writing, will fully establish it.

Alexander Leslie, mentioned above, was singled out and denounced, in the King's name and by his authority, as a rebel of fourteen years' standing, on account of his adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and declared to be such by the heretics, and required to give in an account of all his rents and profits received during that time, and pay the whole amount over to the Treasury, together with all his personal effects. The writ of summons was drawn up in the fullest and clearest terms possible, as a model to serve for similar citations intended to bring all the orthodox Catholics in the kingdom before the Courts, and its execution was committed to the Earl of Morton, a Douglas, the Treasurer of the kingdom, to the Under Treasurer, the

Lord John Stuart of Traquair, and to the Crown Advocate, Sir Thomas Hope.

These authorities proceeded to explain the Scottish law as laid down by the acts of parliament, which provides that the property of all Catholics forms part of the extraordinary revenues of the Crown. They fixed upon Leslie as the man from whom this account was to be exacted, on purpose to strike terror into all others similarly circumstanced. But he soon had companions in misfortune. These comprised not only constant Catholics who remained in Scotland, but exiles as well, together with all who had had any sort of transaction with them, in business or otherwise, or had interchanged courtesy or kindness with them, by the observance of the ordinary good offices which are customary among neighbours or relatives. Those who were in banishment were ordered to be deprived of the third part of their income, which the King's clemency had left them, on the ground that they had neglected to pay the other two-thirds to the Royal Treasury. This was the severest form of annoyance which could be adopted against the Catholics; because it rendered them obnoxious to the authority of the sheriffs, an authority which no one can oppose without bringing the whole power of the Government down upon his head. Catholics who cannot count upon means of support from other sources are therefore in danger of dying of hunger.

These are some of the designs which the candid and charitable disposition of the Calvinists prompts them to concoct night and day, to such a degree, that, unless every moment of their lives is employed in forging some threat or contrivance, unheard of and unknown before, against the children of the Catholic Church, and bringing it to bear with all the influence they possess, and every

possible exertion they can use, they regard themselves as miserable and unhappy, and as having failed in the object of existence. On their part, the Catholics are so wearied out with the endless vexations they are called on to endure, which neither leave them time for the exercise of piety, nor give them the opportunity of laying down their lives for their religion, that they would prefer to die many times over rather than continue to suffer in this way. The honour of martyrdom is especially withheld from them, by what cannot in this case be called the blindness of the Calvinists, but is rather sagacity in the midst of their wildest madness. For they are eager to blot out if possible the memory or record of Catholics having ever existed in the world at all, and their object is to drive them to actual desperation and compel them to throw themselves as suppliants at the feet of the Calvinist ministers or the bishops, when completely wearied out with the troubles they daily endure. And yet when they do this, they meet only with the bitterest sarcasms and reproaches.

This being the case, some Catholics, and not the least brave among them, greatly prefer to quit their country altogether. Some of the highest character, both men and women, have resolved to emigrate to Ireland, and some are already gone, for it is quite evident they could not remain long in England, though that would be nearer. Sir Alexander Gordon has crossed the Sodorian sea, and is living quietly at Derry, among the Irish. He did not expect to find the natives very civilised, but he has found them at any rate good Catholics, and although there are many Calvinists among them, they are accustomed to restrain the rude bitterness of controversy, and are not perpetually giving utterance to it.

Others are likely to follow him soon, after they have made their peace with God and the Church by penance, for fear they should be shipwrecked on the voyage. Conscious of their own weakness they go in search of a safer shore, where tempests do not always blow, and where they will not be in perpetual terror of the raging of a stormy sea. Some who anticipated the sentence of banishment, and went of their own accord into France, have now returned, and have settled at Berwick, a town which is within the frontier of Scotland, but belongs to England, and at that place they have resumed their position as citizens, and their mercantile and other pursuits, enjoying greater freedom at the hands of the English, than their own countrymen ever accorded them.

The most noble knight, Sir James Douglas, who is a very firm adherent of the faith, has also selected Berwick as his place of residence. The original home of his house is in a distant part of Scotland, and he has found by experience that this circumstance enables him to obtain the payment of his rent more easily at a distance, and he has better opportunity of following the practice of his faith. He is there out of hearing of the noisy and tumultuous assemblages which are every day collected by the ministers in Scotland to mob the Catholics, and of their calumnious anathemas; although the rage of the Calvinists threatens to pursue him even in this retreat.

An embassy has gone from the Scots synagogue to the sister assembly, as they call it in England, to desire them to urge and empower the bishop, in whose diocese Berwick is situated, to take measures against the Scottish exiles in that place. The reply of the aforesaid prelate to this application was this: "My good

friend, if you have zeal, exercise it against the people of your own country. We follow the laws of kindness and humanity which nature dictates, and are not so unreasonable as you think. Return to your friends, endeavour to find some more profitable employment at home, and trouble us no more."

There are a large number, both of men and women, who are firmly resolved to adhere to their faith, and have determined to suffer the utmost possible degree of persecution here, rather than wander away to distant lands and unknown regions of the earth, where they well know they will have to beg their bread. For their birth and education have unfitted them for any kind of labour, except perhaps a soldier's life, which is not always the safest road to heaven. But for this, there would be every prospect of the total extinction of orthodox religion in Scotland. These remain, to the wonder and admiration of their enemies, although they are not free from annoyance for a single day, while their opponents leave not a stone unturned to ruin and exterminate them, and are astonished to find them still in existence and visibly apparent before their eyes in human form and substance.

A striking case in point is that of James Forbes of Blacktoun,[1] a well known man of noble birth, nobler still by his constancy to the faith. The whole clan of Forbes, except himself, are born and educated in heresy, and twice or thrice have sent subsidies in money, and bands of armed men, to the Swedish butcher, to fight against the Emperor, under the

[1] In December 1630 James Forbes of Blacktoun and Alexander Leslie of Gowall were charged to enter their persons in ward within the Castle of Blackness—*Register of Privy Council*, vol. iv., p. 549. Cf. *Two Scottish Soldiers and a Jacobite Laird and his Forbears*, by James Ferguson, 1888.

personal command of the chief of the clan. They are all, therefore, his determined enemies, and the Lord Forbes, the head of the name and race, a man of great influence, who is at the head of a powerful force, acts towards him like a cruel stepfather. Hearing that Lord Forbes had been urged by the ministers to make him a prisoner, and was actually meditating some plan for carrying this project into effect, he sent a message to his chief desiring him to declare his intentions openly, and say plainly whether he regarded him as friend or foe, adding that to himself it was a matter of indifference, since he had God for his protector.

This at first sight may appear an extraordinary mode of proceeding, but it is in accordance with the forcible genius of the Scottish people, who, when they encounter a man of timid and shrinking disposition, are accustomed to crush him without mercy; but if, on the other hand, they find they have one of daring and resolute temper to deal with, will regard him with great admiration, wish to have him for a friend, and render him assistance. In defending their faith, Catholics are accustomed to act with this in view, and not let it be thought there is any diminution of their boldness and courage. I have already pointed out the same trait in the character of Alexander Leslie.

Forbes, besides other calamities, has a mother who persecutes him with all a stepmother's dislike. This lady bestowed a fine estate, and a large sum of money left her by her father for the purchase of more lands, upon the sons of her first husband. The result of all this is that he has not the means to support his own children, who are numerous, his own inheritance being much wasted by these various persecutions. His

youngest brother alone gives him all the countenance and support he can, the others are actuated more by Calvinist prejudice than by fraternal duty. But this Catholic gentleman is ambitious of the friendship of God, and feeds on the joys of heaven, frequently receiving the most holy body of Christ when he can find a priest, according to the advice given him by one of the fathers of our Society, who persuaded him that this custom is the source of all sanctity, and encouraged and exhorted him to adopt it, when he shrank from it out of reverence, and judged himself unworthy of so great a privilege.

Another striking instance of the same kind is to be seen in Alexander Leslie, brother of the Baron of Pitcaple, who abandoned his home and all his possessions, and went to live quietly in the town of Aberdeen. Here, however, he could not long remain unnoticed, for the bishop of the city was always barking at him. He baffles the assaults of his foes solely by his courage and resolution, and continues to adhere to his faith, together with his wife. There are some who are continually on the move, and traverse the country, without remaining long in one place, or in a house of their own, to avoid the insolent importunity of the ministers, who are always urging them to attend the sermons of the heretics and make a pretence of embracing the heretical creed, in obedience to the laws of the realm, and especially the enactments of James VI.

One circumstance seemed to give the Catholics a respite during the summer and autumn of this year. A marriage was arranged and celebrated between Mary Gordon, a daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, and Douglas, Earl of Angus, both excellent Catholics, an alliance entered into and completed amid great rejoic-

ings in both these families. The marriage is likely to draw closer the bonds of peace between the Catholic families, and more so as time goes on, and unite them in firmer friendship, and will doubtless suggest to them to combine their influence in support of the faith which they hold and profess in common. At the same time, the open rejoicing of the Catholics at this prospect has excited fear and suspicion, prompted by the malevolence of the heretics, and the imprudence of some other opponents, and they have endeavoured, out of dislike to her father, to prevent the marriage of the Marquis's other daughter, Jane Gordon, with Hamilton, Lord of Strabane, brother of the Earl of Abercorn.

In all these and similar matters God, the Father of mercies, wonderfully provides support and consolation for all concerned. The more powerful chiefs and nobles of the kingdom enjoy a certain degree of freedom, at least in appearance, but others are on this very account all the worse treated, in proportion as their influence is less. In the case of the former, the heretics endeavour to gradually impair their power and influence, by detaching one by one the numerous followers and dependents whose support constitutes their strength. The latter they try to ruin at once, and crush at a blow.

A very striking and remarkable instance of this has occurred during the present year. The Marquis of Huntly set on foot an inquiry into the horrible murder of his son; the particulars of which were given in my letter of last year, with a view to bring the murderers to justice. But the Council, and more particularly the President, the Earl of Menteith, who is also the Supreme Judge in criminal causes and the highest judicial authority in the kingdom, frustrated these

efforts from the first. This was the more extraordinary, because the King wrote very frequently to the Council on the subject, clearly intimating his pleasure that a strict inquiry should be made as to the authors of this terrible crime, and ordering that a prisoner in chains, who was believed to have taken part in it, should be examined by torture.

This the President and the members of the Court declared they would not do, and there was an obvious reason for their refusal, for all the heretical party, and especially the clergy and the prelates, were extremely apprehensive about the progress of this cause, which would expose the plots and designs they had formed against the life of the most powerful defender of the Catholics and the orthodox faith in Scotland—one whose life was dear to all good men, and who had suffered a cruel and barbarous death by fire. I hardly know whither this narrative is leading me. But there is scarcely anything we can do, however secretly, scarcely any plan we can undertake, which the tempter does not endeavour to hinder and delay or bring to nothing.

Father John Seton has been preparing to convey some young men out of Scotland to commence a new seminary at Madrid. He thought it best to precede them into France, travelling by way of England. Several youths at Aberdeen, and one or two elsewhere, were under these circumstances awaiting the day of embarkation. One of these was a son to the sister of the Bishop of the Isles,[1] and this bishop, going to visit his sister, a Catholic lady, enquired as soon as he entered the house, where her husband was? She said he had gone to

[1] John Leslie, lately made Bishop of the Isles.

Aberdeen with their young son, who was about to sail for France, to conduct him on board ship and commend him to the care of one of the seamen. The bishop was in a fury. "What devil," he said, "has put this into your heads, to ruin the dear pledge of your affection?" Without another word he rushed out of the house, as if stung by hornets, and all his sister's prayers and entreaties could not detain him longer.

He spoke to the Bishop of Aberdeen on the subject, and proposed that as they were both members of the King's Privy Council, they should make a combined effort to secure the detention of the boys, by prohibiting the vessels leaving the harbours, and the owners and seamen conveying persons of this description across the seas, and should at once endeavour to obtain extraordinary powers for this purpose. He went also to the provost of the city, and all the judges and magistrates, and by their aid summoned the young men to appear, and offered to some of them the oath of allegiance to their King and country and the established religion, while he tried to induce others of them by threats, and his nephew by promises, to abandon their enterprise. Gazing at John Abercrombie, a modest youth of eighteen or twenty years of age, he said, "I see the brow of a Jesuit on that face," and then addressed the magistrate thus, "You may hold it as certain that next year you will have as many Jesuits invading the kingdom as you now suffer youths to leave it."

Some of the more sensible friends of the young men laughed, and some were angry at the interference, and the Bishop of Aberdeen himself said it was not worth while to detain them, for he should be only too glad to have all the papists turned out of the country, and it was still better when they

went of their own accord. His own nephew made him blush by reminding him, with a good deal of force and earnestness, of the splendid promises he had repeatedly made to him, and which had never been kept, adding that he would never consent to study letters and science in Scotland, where he would drink in with them the foul poison of heresy, and that he would rather be a simple shepherd, and serve God with uninstructed piety, than be adorned with the finished accomplishments of sin and error.

The Bishop of the Isles in acting thus only showed his temper, without preventing the expedition; but it increased his animosity against the Catholics, and whether it was to save appearances, or in his ardour for the defence of the Protestant sect, and to exhibit his zeal to the King and the Council, or that he really wished to put a stop to this emigration under an impression that young men are corrupted by a Catholic education—he did not let the matter drop, but mounted his horse and rode off to the west, whence he made the tour of the Hebrides, which are included in his diocese, and then hastened to Edinburgh. Here by his exertions he obtained an order from the Council, forbidding, under the severest penalties, that boys should be sent to the seminary at Douay, and that their parents should give their approval to so wicked a proceeding.

However, the relatives of the young men, even those among them who were heretics, took care to obtain the necessary permission for their sailing, and the vessels in time left the harbour. The more sensible among them could not but feel,[1] that it was a decided

[1] Referring to the *Douay Diary*, we find that these young men were probably Robert Irvine of Beltry, aged 19; Thomas Menzies, 14; Thomas Gordon of Abergeldie, 17; and his brother, James Gordon, aged 14. They reached Douay on 6th January 1633.

advantage for the children of their friends to receive a liberal and honourable education abroad, and that it is far better to have all these young fellows, the rougher among them especially, brought up in papist colleges, as they call them, where they would be well trained and looked after, than have to support them, in idleness and without any definite prospects at home. It is extremely difficult to find any means of education in Scotland for Catholic youths, who are prevented by the influence of the Calvinist ministers from going to study abroad. While inflicting so great a wrong upon us, the heretics can hardly complain if we endeavour to help ourselves.

But they have done much worse than this. The graver and austerer Calvinist ministers, of more than ordinary pharisaical pride, have not hesitated to assail noble Catholic ladies with their fists. During this year two ladies went in disguise on a religious expedition to an ancient chapel. They were recognised by the preacher in charge of the parish, and he sallied out to encounter them, full of wrath and arrogance, attacked and robbed them—for the laws allow them to do anything they like—seizing the cloak of one of them, who did not make any great resistance, and to avoid a discreditable wrangle, ran away. But the other showed fight, on which he struck her violently on the face, drawing blood, and in the continuance of the struggle endeavoured to deprive her of her garment, which he pretended to take in forfeit. A crowd of the neighbours assembled, and being indignant that a woman should receive such treatment, took her part, and the lady received back her cloak and was allowed to return home.

Her husband was deeply incensed at the insult

she had received, and not so much from desire of revenge, as to give the wolves an evidence of what he could do when his blood was up, and prevent similar occurrences in future, he got all in readiness to administer the chastisement deserved, by giving the man a good beating over the back and shoulders with a knotted stick, which is the mode in which offenders of a lower grade are usually dealt with in this country. But as a Catholic gentleman of position and character, he abandoned this intention, while at the same time he thought and said that if it is lawful to attack a robber caught in the act of theft, and is no disgrace or wrong under some circumstances to kill a man who is raving mad, it could scarcely have been thought wrong if he had given some such correction to one who had been guilty of so infamous an outrage against a married lady, equally in violation of equity and justice, the laws of the realm, and the common rights of humanity.

But the Calvinists unfortunately hold that no compromise or terms of pacification are admissible, and absolutely require that Catholics shall go to prison of their own accord, and remain there absolutely at the disposal of their opponents, or else leave the country. They are now trying hard to bring this gentleman to capital punishment, for his brave defence of his wife. This is a specimen of the liberality of Calvinist charity, of the dignity of the new gospel, the sanctity of the reformed, and of the treatment which ministers are accustomed to deal out to pilgrims. The result of this action will not be known till next year, but many are of opinion that the minister will find many imitators. Men of experience, accustomed to observe the signs of the times, predict the fulfilment of certain ancient prophecies, the tenor of which I am not acquainted

with, as likely to occur in Scotland before many years are over.

At the same time things have not in every case turned out according to the wishes of the authors of our persecutions. In this God's hand is plainly visible, and Christ seems to have risen up this year as the avenger of His own, to rebuke the enemies of Catholic truth. Charges have been brought before the King against the High Chancellor of the kingdom, the Treasurer and Under Treasurer, the Lord Advocate, and the President of the Council, who is also the Chief Justice of all Scotland in all capital cases, of bribery and the sale of justice, of disloyalty in the administration, of the exhausted condition of the Treasury, augmented as it should have been by the confiscation of the property of the Catholics. The last-named, being a great favourite with the King, cleverly managed to elude the accusation brought against him, of betraying his master's service, and undue regard to his own personal interest and advancement.

The President, the Earl of Menteith, of the house of Graham, asked the King that he might be, and in constitutional form declared to be, the heir of the Earldom of Strathearn. He is a descendant of the former Earls of Strathearn, and sprung from the royal line of the Bruces and Stuarts. Sir Thomas Hope, who is, as I have formerly said, the Lord Advocate, gave him eager assistance in promoting this suit. King Charles gladly assented to this petition, giving all his influence to Menteith, without a suspicion of alarm on his own account, either out of ignorance of Scottish business, having scarcely ever resided in this country since he was a child, or from forgetfulness, or a credulous trust and confidence in a man whom he

loved. It was with the utmost difficulty that he could be persuaded that one so highly advanced by the favour of the Crown, and placed in high office, or indeed that any man of noble and ancient line and origin, would show his gratitude by treachery and unworthy ambition.

Menteith aimed at something much greater than the Earldom of Strathearn. Robert II., King of Scotland,[1] sister's son to King Robert Bruce, and the first King of Scotland of the house of Stuart, had one or more sons by Elizabeth Muir, his mistress, the daughter of a knight, and subsequently other sons by Euphemia Ross, the heiress of the county of Ross, to whom he was united in lawful marriage. On her death he married his former mistress Elizabeth, and he appointed his eldest sons by Elizabeth heirs to the Crown in preference to the children of Euphemia. The intricate and difficult question, the offspring of which wife had the best right to the succession to the Crown, was settled either by appeal to authority or to the reason and merits of the case. At last the difficulty was settled by the decision of the three estates of the realm, assembled in Parliament, and in this decision the sons of Euphemia, who were set aside, were obliged unwillingly to acquiesce, complaining that the Muir princes, who though the elder, were born out of lawful wedlock, should be crowned, while they themselves were excluded from the throne, though they were, not only sprung from a lawful marriage, but were also children by the former wife. The succeeding kings obtained the confirmation of the claim of the Muir family by an Act of Parliament, enacting under the penalties of high treason, for all future time, that no

[1] This is a slight error. Robert II. was *daughter's* son to Robert Bruce IV.

subject should aspire to the right and title of the Earldom of Strathearn, first assumed by the son of Queen Euphemia, if that title ever became extinct in the male line.

The Earl of Menteith, one of whose forefathers had married the heiress of the Earls of Strathearn, was acting in defiance of the law sanctioned by the King and Parliament, when he craftily obtained the consent of the King and the Privy Council, in a formal manner, to his assumption of the Earldom of Strathearn. King Charles learned this later, being informed of the whole history by one George Nichol, a man who had an extensive knowledge of these subjects. Menteith offered various excuses for his conduct, until he found that he was excluded from appearing at court and from the King's presence, and then he became frightened and repented the course he had taken. At first he persisted in his demand to see the King, but on being commanded to keep at a distance from the palace until he was informed of the sentence to be pronounced against him, and the punishment to be inflicted on him, he resolved to throw himself entirely on the royal clemency.

The King eventually received him, and is said to have addressed the President of his Privy Council in a manner not very usual. "Menteith, we hear you have assumed a new title, and a new princedom." Menteith proceeded to lay the blame upon the Lord Advocate, observing that he was not the only culprit, and that the defender of the royal prerogative ought to have opposed his claim when he advanced it.

He was then sent back to Scotland, and deprived of his Earldom of Strathearn. The law officers of the Crown were consulted by letter from the

King as to the mode in which this deprivation could be accomplished, and they replied that it could only be done by declaring him a rebel. We shall learn how the matter ends in due time;[1] meanwhile a rebuke has been administered to a bitter persecutor of the Catholics, who, in conjunction with the Lord Advocate, was always bringing charges of treason against them, and at the same time denying them the common rights of law and justice.

The most atrocious attempts are threatened and put in practice against Catholics, utterly at variance with common humanity. There is an instance of this in the case of the aged Laird[2] of Craig, who, after enduring numberless afflictions and calamities for the sake of the Catholic faith, and having spent two years in prison, and being set at liberty by the King's kindness, was compelled to go abroad to France, though he was eighty years of age, and could neither ride on horseback nor walk, except with extreme difficulty.

With him went Duncan Gordon,[3] another man of advanced age, worn out by prolonged Calvinist persecution, and whom no one in Scotland was at liberty to receive into his house. The vessel they embarked in carried two men who had earned the rewards of piety, unwearied confessors of the Catholic religion, bulwarks of the faith of their fathers, brave and holy intercessors for their native land, who might

[1] He was deprived of his offices and title, and retired into private life, retaining only his title of first Earl of Airth.

[2] Sir John Ogilvie Craig endured a long term of imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle and St Andrews, for resetting seminary priests and mass priests. Chambers, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 58.

[3] Duncan Gordon, of the family of Lesmore, and his wife, Agnes Barclay, of the family of Gartley, had been much persecuted for their adherence to the Catholic religion, and were reduced to poverty. (MS. Memoirs of Bishop Geddes, A.D. 1642, p. 101.)

have been able to avert from her the wrath of an angry Deity.

The Calvinists, however, were full of rejoicing and exultation at their departure, and would have been glad to see all the orthodox leave the country with them in a body. What added to their satisfaction was that one of them had his grandson, a child of three years of age, taken away from him, while Duncan was obliged to leave his daughter, now grown up, with his wife in Scotland.

As regards our own labours, some of the lapsed have been restored, and among these there is a man of great talent and judgment, a widower, whose defection caused great scandal to the Catholics, but who tells them that he has never passed a happy day since he broke away from the unity of the Church for the sake of keeping his worldly wealth, under the belief that he was at liberty to attend the heretic preaching. Under these circumstances he was admitted to the sacraments of the Church by a learned confessor, without any intention of amendment. On being convinced by one of our Fathers that this was a most grave error, he was filled with shame and grief. "Forgive me, Father," he said; "I now know more than I did before, I have read more, and I have heard more from the priests of your Society."

There was no occasion to give him further instruction on the subject, or to reprove him, since he acknowledged his fault with the utmost shame and compunction. This example should suggest very serious reflections to such Catholics as have been accustomed to listen to the voice of the hireling shepherds, and will not trust themselves to the rule and course of Catholic duty marked out for them,

no, not even when others show them the way. Indeed they even decry such friends as persons obstinately wedded to their own opinions.

A lady of rank followed her husband to the Calvinist temples. Many people told her she was doing very wrong in submitting to the laws, which were promulgated out of opposition to the faith she held, and joining the assemblies of the enemies of the Church for the sake of keeping her property. After a time the lady acknowledged her error out of regard for her salvation, and she told the Father from whom she received absolution for her sins in confession, that this doctrine gave her a joy greater than she had ever supposed she was capable of feeling. The same error was pointed out to her husband, who promised in a short time to give it up, although during the whole of the time he continued falling away, he had been nevertheless admitted to the sacrament of the Eucharist by the indulgence of a certain Religious. Their son also, on the matter being explained to him, gladly embraced the teaching of the Church on this point.

There have been some few converts from heresy to Catholic truth, and among them a man of seventy-three years of age. There was another who had for some time made up his mind to embrace the orthodox faith, but he took the Calvinist Supper at Easter, and being suddenly taken very ill a week later, possibly recollected this intention, when a violent irruption of matter into his throat deprived him of the power of speech. He lost at the same time all feeling in one side, and his intellectual powers were clouded and disturbed. Nevertheless, when he had been clearly told what was required of him, he signified as well as he could by signs his wish to die in the bosom of the Catholic

Church, and having given evidence of contrition, he received absolution.

There was a very narrow escape from fierce litigation and very probably bloodshed, on account of a noble Catholic girl who was carried off by force, but whose courage and resolution in the defence of her modesty and honour overcame the violence of her ravisher. By the assistance of Alexander Leslie and Father John Leslie, her uncles, and the authority of the Marquis of Huntly, the young lady was rescued after a detention of some few hours, the daring villain was compelled to submission, and made to give security that he would offer her no violence in future. As soon as peace was restored between the parties, he took an oath that the lady's honour was still unsullied, and asked pardon for his fault upon his knees, upon which her hand was eagerly sought in marriage by more than one suitor, out of admiration for the heroism and modesty of her behaviour and regard for the friendship of her uncles.

One of our Fathers has accomplished a visitation of the west of Scotland, the country honoured as the scene of the martyrdom of Father John Ogilvie. The people of Glasgow, however, have not yet laid aside their terrors. One of them, who came to confession, and was being admonished by the Father not to attend the heretic worship, said to him: "I know you are one of the priests of the Society. There are others who are not so strict with us, and tell us that we may win heaven without altogether abandoning the interests of earth. It is in opposition to our own wishes that we pretend to be heretics, profess to belong to the Calvinist sect, and go to listen to the sermons of the sectaries in obedience to the orders issued by ecclesiastical, parlia-

mentary, and royal authority. We hold the Catholic faith in our hearts, while with our lips we join in the ritual of the new gospel, under penalty of losing all we have in the world if we acted differently."

Another travelled, with better success, in the northern and western portions of the country. I have already referred to him in the particulars given above regarding a noble lady and her husband and son. They are relatives of Father Andrew Leslie, and this kinship served the Father for an introduction, which otherwise he would have obtained with difficulty, for many Catholics of rank will not speak to us, from an unhappy prejudice, and the belief they entertain that our doctrine is too cruel and severe. This Father will accordingly in future continue his care of this part of the country, by the help of God, whose good Providence has so far blessed his efforts.

Our Fathers have also brought assistance and the grace of reconciliation to the dying; and we have had the unaccustomed task of looking up young men to send to the seminary and taking them on board ship, which has occupied us all the summer and part of the autumn. We have also had to encounter many perils, besides those I have related, in the Highlands, where there are more zealous and constant Catholics to be found in the space of three miles than in some entire provinces of the kingdom.

One of our number, on whom we could depend, has been to England on the business of the Scottish mission. At first he found the persons he sought difficult of access, but his patience and noble attitude in time overcame all obstacles. At Court he obtained the favour of some Scottish nobles, and instructed their households in the Catholic discipline. He also

won their support for our Society, against which our opponents were in full cry. He made some converts from heresy, and obtained the regard and favour of English Catholics so far as frequently to administer the sacraments to them; and the Spanish Ambassador had the utmost respect for his character and attainments.

On his return to Scotland he was able to win for our Society the regard and protection of one of the first men in the country, which had been withdrawn owing to neglect or carelessness in some quarter. He attached this great man, with his children, household, and dependents, to our cause, by the strongest ties of kindness and goodwill, and restored the custom of preaching in the palace he inhabits. Two other Fathers obtained an opportunity of announcing the Christian doctrine in the palace of a widow lady of high rank, in the presence of the principal members of her family, the illustrious lady herself being on these occasions often a listener, and taking great delight in it. This is a rare occurrence, and indeed, so far as I know, was never habitually done before, except by Father William Leslie, the brother of these two Fathers. A considerable number of persons assemble, and the rudiments of Christian faith are somewhat fully explained and proved by pointed and striking arguments, and vindicated from the calumnies of the heretics. Addresses are also given in the same place on Sundays and festival days.

I have often had occasion to refer to the following in my former letters, and I should like now to put together a few more remarks on it: because it is one of the greatest trials to the constancy of the Catholics, and one of the greatest obstacles and hindrances to the sincere conversion of heretics. All the laws of

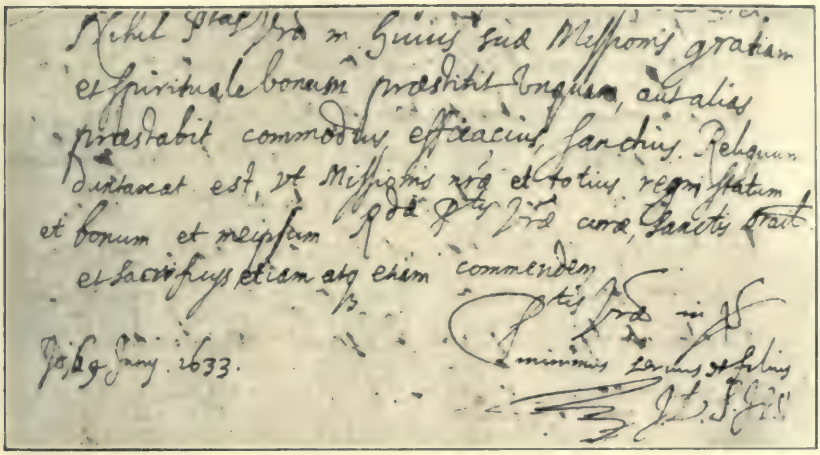
Scotland (except only the civil law), all the royal rescripts, replies, ordinances, all the statutes passed by the Parliament since the accession of James VI., all the constitutions and synodal decrees of the Protestant clergy, and of the presbyteral conventions of the ministers of several parishes which are held weekly or fortnightly, all unite in urging and requiring the holding of conventicles and attendance at heretical sermons, under the severest penalties. They require also the presence of the minister of the parish at the celebration of marriage, and that children shall be brought to the heretic temples to be baptized by the minister. In all these laws the formula laid down clearly, expressly, and in unmistakable language, is one which must have the effect of obliging, compelling, and commanding all Catholics, in the name, reverence, and authority of religion, and by the divine law and obligation of professing it, to abjure the faith of Rome, its sacraments, its rites and ceremonies, and accept Calvinism unreservedly.

It follows from this that no purely civil law in Scotland, and no civil judge whatever, from lowest to highest degree, not even the King himself, unless some ecclesiastical censure has preceded, takes any sort of action against such as do not conform, or imposes any penalty upon them. It is the clergy, archbishops, bishops, and ministers, who, through the synodal statutes, the constitutions of the presbyteral conventions, pronounce such persons as Roman Catholics, profligate sinners, despisers of the sacraments, and enemies of true religion, vex and persecute them, fine them, drag them to prison, pillage and banish them, outlaw and separate them from the conversation and society of Christian men as guilty of treason against the

Divine Majesty, strike them with excommunication, and devote them to destruction with the most awful threats, and the most terrific forms of denunciation. The statutes and constitutions passed by the Parliament neither possess nor assume any authority to act against papists, unless where an ecclesiastical sentence has been previously pronounced, or they have been convicted on the evidence of the ministers of having refused obedience to the orders of Parliament and of the Council, which also enjoins upon the ministers to search out, report, and excommunicate the men who call themselves Catholics.

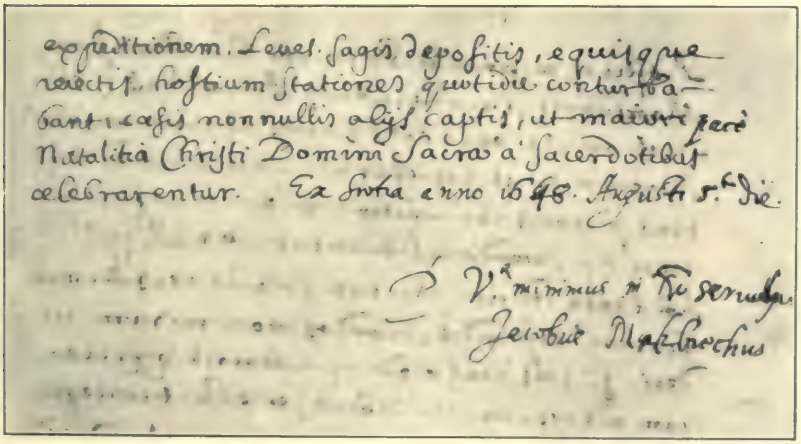
Moreover, acts of Parliament or orders of the Council against Catholics are never passed unless in the presence and at the request of the bishops, who have the greatest influence in the Council, or in their absence, of the diocesan commissioners. Further, if the King, or the Council acting by his authority, is disposed to make an exception in favour of a particular Catholic, and relieve him from penalty, an order is conveyed by means of a written letter or a public injunction, addressed to the archbishops and through them to the whole body of the clergy, forbidding the passing of any ecclesiastical judgment against that person.

In a word, remove the heretical clergy and the authority they wield, and all decrees, injunctions, and laws whatever against the Catholics will be removed with them. Take away Calvinist censures from this kingdom, the decrees voted by the heterodox clergy, and the laws put in execution solely by their care, exertions, influence and expense—and Catholics will be left in peace and quiet. All this will be so clearly evident from the events I have recorded during the last five years, that it is superfluous to dwell upon



Signed.—Idibus Junii, 1633.

Paternitatis Vestræ in Christo
minimus servus et filius,
J[OANNES] L[ESLÆUS] S[ocietatis] Jesu.



Signed.—Ex Scotia, anno 1648, Augusti 5to die.

P[aternitatis] V[estræ] minimus in
Christo servulus,
JACOBUS MAKBRECHUS.

TWO SIGNATURES.

it any longer. And we, the Fathers of this Mission, unanimously believe and assert that it may be inferred from this, by clear and evident deduction, and inevitable consequence, that to attend the preaching of the heretics, to have marriage celebrated in the presence of the minister of the parish, and children baptized by heretic preachers, or allow it to be done, amounts in Scotland to an open profession of heresy, and renunciation of the Catholic faith of Christ, which is prohibited by everything holy.

I commend the condition and welfare of our Mission and of all this kingdom, and my own, again and again, to the care of your Reverence, and to your holy prayers and sacrifices.

Your humblest servant and son in Christ,

J[ohn] L[eslie], Soc. Jesu.

13*th June* 1633.

Addressed: To the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father Mutius Vitelleschi, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

Father Andrew Leslie *to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

14*th October* 1632.

Very Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

This is the third time I have written to your Paternity since I came here. My first letter merely announced my arrival; the second gave an account of some of my persecutions, since it is the rule to write our own adventures separately. Now, having obtained some insight into the state of affairs, party conflicts, and the sufferings of Catholics,

I will say a few words on these three subjects, which I hardly ventured to do before.

I can assure your Paternity that our Fathers want consoling, not blaming; though, in one point, I think one of them in the wrong. Another is broken down with a complication of ailments, and ceaseless care and trouble. A third is quite worn out, with much travelling about in years past. All alike are in peril of their lives every instant, and can neither move nor stay where they are, without great danger. What is worse, the Catholics who used to receive us are all turned out of their houses, or else deprived of the greater part of their means, and unless we are assisted from abroad, we shall none of us be able to get anything to eat. We also beg you will thank the good Colonel[1] for us, highly commend his charity, and induce him to continue it; if not, not one of us can remain here a month longer: particularly now these marvellous events in Germany have cut off our supplies from Westphalia. This important subject I strongly recommend to your consideration, for without some such resources no permanent efforts for religion can be made in this country. One of us, I think, ought to go over to Germany — and you will forgive my making the suggestion—also the Father Superior Valens should be permitted to retire, as I understand he has expressed a wish to do, feeling himself unable to cope with so turbulent a people as the Scots. More competent judges than myself think my brother John should supply his place, if such should be your pleasure. He is very strong, a good traveller, and good man of business, and seems not wanting in courage and ardour in the faith. I had rather, how-

[1] Colonel Semple.

ever, leave the matter for others to decide, because I may be biassed by family affection. Still, Christ proclaimed the high qualities of His friends, and especially of the Holy Baptist, whom He made His Precursor and the Bridegroom's friend. I am sure of this much—that if in any part of the world there is need of a man of bold and unyielding courage, who fears nothing, and has troops of friends and relatives to aid him, and can lead us bravely into battle—not hide in a corner to conduct women's devotions—such a man is wanted here. I am not claiming anything for myself or mine, but I ought not to conceal the truth because it happens to tell in favour of my friends. I only wish there were any other way open to meet the dangers which beset us.

We know well your Paternity's earnest regard for our distant Mission, and this unhappy kingdom, that amid the groans of a distracted world you still think of the special calamities of Scotland, the ruin of religion and its professors among us, of those who in the general confusion of all things can look only to our Society for support and help. You will certainly listen to our prayers, compassionate our tears, satisfy our claims, console us in our affliction, and send some help to keep us from despair. We have heard in these far regions of the almost total defeat of the Laplander.[1] This event will give you time to breathe, and to think of us, not that you ever forget any one. We pray that you may so continue, and give and commend ourselves wholly to your Reverence.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW LESLIE.

From SCOTLAND, 14*th October* 1632.

[1] Gustavus Adolphus was checked at Nuremberg, 3rd September 1632.

Father John Leslie *to* Father General
(*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

30*th September* 1633.

Very Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

The Quinquennial[1] history of the persecution will have given you a very fair general view of the state of Religion in Scotland, the sufferings of Catholics, both the constant and the lapsed, the state of the Mission, and our extreme poverty. I think it well, nevertheless, to send my own account of the condition of affairs, which continue to go on from bad to worse. God's just anger has been revealed in taking from us Father John Rob, always thoughtful and considerate of our troubles; and our kind and liberal benefactor the Colonel,[2] who has died just when his aid was wanted for the new Seminary, and when also we hoped he was going to make a permanent provision for the Mission. Added to this, the extinction, to all appearance, of all hope of supplies from Westphalia.

We have no benefactor left who can be compared to him. Our friends are dying one by one, our resources are steadily reduced in consequence, and at the same time the rights and privileges enjoyed by our Mission are being withdrawn or reduced. We know not whether, under these circumstances, we ought to be silent or to speak; we alternately lament our lot, wonder at our changed fortunes, and deliberate what to do, as if the persecution, with all its innumerable calamities, far worse than death itself, was not

[1] Father John Leslie refers to the letters for 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631-32, printed above.

[2] Colonel Semple.

savage and cruel enough without having these troubles added to it. Your Reverence must be told the truth, that either we must be helped, or almost all of us must leave the country immediately. You will, therefore, forgive me for suggesting or reminding you of what I think the best remedies to adopt.

First, our business in Westphalia, which was entrusted to the care of Father John Rob, should now be committed to another as strenuous, prudent, and diligent as he was, of as high authority and equal charity. Similarly, the affairs in Spain should be entrusted to the diligence of Father John Seton, and others, so as to secure the continuance of our accustomed revenue from that source. Aid should also be obtained from the most Christian King, and it might be afforded by means of some of the wealthier abbeys and benefices at his disposal. On this subject I understood a petition to the King was in course of preparation, and going to be presented. This matter should be committed and recommended to the care of Father Gordon, and others equally zealous for the propagation of the faith. For the love of Jesus we implore that these measures, and others similar to them—which your Reverence's unwearied love and zeal for your afflicted sons and clients, for our Mission, and the progress of the Roman faith, will suggest to your mind or recall to your memory—may be made the objects of your Reverence's very special care and attention, animated as you are by your earnest zeal for God's glory, and detestation of heresy. The faculty of absolving from heresy was granted on 16th April 1633, and reached us at the end of August, then prolonged only for three months. We shall be deeply grieved if this privilege is not, by the care and fore-

sight of your Reverence, continued to us, and made perpetual. Were everything else supplied to us in abundance it would be of no use, if this principal means of winning souls to Christ is withheld.

Just now the mitigation of the persecution, and the controversies which have arisen out of the introduction of the Anglican rite into Scotland, have opened to us a wide field for bringing many souls back to the fold of Christ. Are we then to send all our converts, sick and aged, men and women, after three months, away to Rome to be received, and despatch all the young girls on pilgrimage to the threshold of the Apostles? Such a limitation of our powers would be equivalent to a sentence of banishment to ourselves as effectual as any which ever issued from the royal Council, for we might as well transfer ourselves to other shores. I could go on for ever, only I fear to be troublesome, and I know you will consider this matter with greater ability than I can give to it, and take measures to remove what must prove a serious obstacle to the salvation of souls.

We would wish to press our entreaties upon your recollection by every consideration we can think of, and remind you of the far greater fruit of our labours which we might exhibit, if we could receive in fuller measure the spiritual and temporal assistance we so greatly need. The storm of persecution, I am thankful to say, has lulled, and Catholics who have remained firm in their faith promise themselves a lengthened period of tranquillity. Those who have yielded are much less timid than before, and the more so because they see that the Catholics who have remained steadfast have after all not entirely made shipwreck of their worldly possessions, and so

tremendous and violent a hurricane of persecution they need never expect to see again. Either, therefore, they reasonably hope never to see such times again, or if they should, they are beginning to see that it is not impossible to meet and overcome the trial with patience and fortitude. So that your Reverence will see that the recall of the lapsed to the profession of the complete standard of the faith and obedience to God's laws, is neither hopeless, nor even a matter requiring very much labour or very much time.

The introduction of the Anglican ritual has profoundly mortified and exasperated the Puritan preachers and their adherents among the statesmen, nobles, and citizens; for there are very few Puritans among the common people. Many of the ministers, and not a few of the Calvinist bishops, relying on the rank and influence of their supporters and the aid of the multitude, have resolved not to accept the new ceremonial, and this matter so occupies and embarrasses our opponents that they will have no leisure to persecute the Catholics; at least so we hope. This new ritual, and certain changes made in the articles of profession of belief without the consent of Parliament, have plunged the Protestants into the greatest uncertainty what to take and what to reject, and they are beginning to think a little better of our Church, and not quite so well of their own. They praise our doctrine as at any rate always the same, and not subject to endless and perpetual changes. Many are already thinking of choosing the better part, and we expect there will be many more, as time goes on. Catholics may reasonably glory in their one unchanging faith, and make this an argument for adhering to it with constancy, or returning to it if they have for a time

appeared to give it up. On all these accounts we cannot but think there is hope of an abundant harvest, and this hope, we are certain you will feel, is not to be neglected or passed by.

It is nearly sixteen years since you founded this Mission, or restored it, or began it anew, when the old one was abolished and had become extinct. Its results have not been so entirely insignificant, as that any one would advocate its being abolished in its turn. When Father William Leslie was first sent here by your Reverence, how neglected this vineyard was, how long untended! Very few openly professed the faith, the sacraments were rarely used, devotion seemed extinct, Christian virtues forgotten, in fact, scarcely a trace of religion anywhere apparent. Since that time conversions have been numerous, some most unexpected; multitudes of Catholics have held firmly to their faith, many have gone into exile on account of it, many have been thrown into prison, many robbed of all their goods except their piety and virtue. How many are there of every sex, age, and condition, and of the rarest excellence, either living now, or gone to their reward! This great movement, political and moral, all this resolute profession of faith and eager pursuit of virtue, is wholly due to your Reverence, its principal author and promoter under God. Comparing with this the efforts made in former years, after the overthrow of religion, and which I am now attempting to describe, I find the number of workers in the earlier Mission far inferior, their excellence not more remarkable, and the results of their exertions, in the number of converts, and their constancy and perseverance—the martyrs excepted—infinitely less.

And speaking now of ourselves, we have some

advantages over our predecessors in our mode of teaching, explaining and applying the dogmas of faith and precepts of Christian doctrine, and we frequently hear it objected that we are much stricter than they used to be, and excessively rigorous in our doctrine. What a multitude of obstacles had to be surmounted at our entrance on this Mission—or rather your Mission—and how insurmountable they seemed! From the date of the institution of our Society, and the overthrow of religion in Scotland, down to the year of our Lord 1616, not above sixteen Fathers were sent into Scotland, at different times, and by different Generals. Some of these scarcely landed, and, except three or four, none remained long. But you alone, in the course of sixteen years, have sent one-and-twenty, none of whom abandoned the Mission till death called them from it, or they were withdrawn by ill-health, captivity, or a special decree of the Council, or in some cases recalled by the authority of Superiors. Six ended their days happily among the Society, and five of these in Scotland, quite worn out with the fatigues of the Mission. Twelve are still, with unflagging industry, at work in the deserted vineyard, and it is safe to predict that they will never leave it on anything short of absolute compulsion. Not without reason, therefore, we count upon your Reverence claiming this Mission, cherishing, protecting, augmenting, and adorning it, as all your own; which you will most effectually do by sparing no exertion to supply us with the temporal succour we require, and taking measures for the permanence of this supply in future. Absolute destitution, and that alone, will drive us from the country.

The severest decrees of the courts, the threats

of our opponents, the rage and fury of the ministers, the stratagems of the Puritan clergy and all their power and authority, the tyranny of the Council, the thunder of the royal prerogative itself, will not succeed in banishing us from Scotland or our station in it, or remove us from the work we have undertaken. If only our wants are relieved, and the necessaries of life supplied us, the whole kingdom will be open to us, the mountain clans, the Highlanders of the north, the islands of the west, the Orkneys, the Shetland Isles, and the Hebrides, will receive us. In conclusion, in all I have said I solemnly declare I have not gone one word beyond the truth, or exaggerated in a single point, and with this I again and again commend this Mission, which is yours and mine, to your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your humblest servant and son in Christ,

JOHN LESLIE, S.J.

30*th September* 1633.

FATHER JOHN LESLIE *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

30*th September* 1633.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,
Pax Christi.

I received on the 21st of June your letter of the 25th January, which gave me immense delight. It is the strongest possible inducement to continue to write, to know that my letters afford you satisfaction. The public assembly, styled here the Parliament, was held in Edinburgh at the end of January, and I happened to be there at the time.

It was known that the King had given the Queen a promise that no new laws should be passed against the Catholics in this Parliament, and the pledge was faithfully observed. Nothing was therefore said about religion, except that two Acts were passed. One is as follows :—

Act IV.

Ratification of the Acts concerning Religion.

Our most serene Lord, with the advice and consent of the States of the realm, ratifies and approves all and singular the Acts and Statutes heretofore passed concerning the liberty and privileges of the true Church of God and the religion now professed in this realm, and ordains that the same shall continue in full effect and force, in the same manner as if they were here quoted and enumerated.

It will be seen that the King follows in part the precedent created by his forefathers, all of whom, ever since the foundation of the kingdom—except James VI. —caused the liberties and immunities of the Holy Roman Church to be perpetuated and protected by the first solemn Act of each Parliament. The King steadily refused to listen to the demands of the Puritan clergy against the Catholics, but this did not hinder them from passing various savage decrees against Catholics on their own authority, which they still continue to do. We are therefore proclaimed as rebels under the authority of certain Acts passed in the reign of James VI., and incur all the penalties of rebellion. This, as may be imagined, is likely to do the Catholics a good deal of damage. Your Reverence should therefore look on the persecution as abated, but not ended.

The King was crowned on the 18th of June, with

a ceremonial closely resembling the Catholic one, of which every particular was carefully written down beforehand.[1] I could not get a copy complete enough to send you, but if I meet with one, you will probably read it with pleasure. The more important details are as follows:—The King was conducted to the place fixed for the coronation—the Church of Holyrood, commonly called the Abbey Church—with the crown and sceptre carried before him, and two swords, borne by two high officers of State, one intended for the defence of the spirituality, as it is called in the book, the other of the temporality, meaning the spiritual and temporal law of the Church and realm, the King claiming both jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and civil, as appears from an Act of Parliament, which I will refer presently.

On arriving at the place of coronation, the consent of the nobles and people was demanded for the consecration, anointing, and coronation of the King, and their promise of obedience to him, and his commands. All answered, "God save King Charles." The King was then asked in turn whether he would take the oaths customarily sworn to by his ancestors and predecessors, the question being put to him by the Archbishop in these terms:—"Sire, will you swear that you will preserve the laws of God and of the true religion established in this realm, according to your

[1] The account of Charles's coronation is headed, *The form of King Charles I., his Coronation in Scotland, 11th June* 1633. *Written with Mr Dell's own hand, Secretary to the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Laud.* It presents some features which Laud is not likely to have invented, which are not in the English rite, some of which are found in the ceremonial used at the coronations of the Kings of France at Rheims, and some of which are quite peculiar. These may very possibly be reproductions of old Scottish national usages now lost. Cf. *Scottish Coronations*, by Lord Bute, p. 67. Gardner, London, 1902.

office and the royal prerogative, and the laws and customs of the realm?" The King, replying to the Archbishop, promised to observe these and all other obligations of the regal office.

The Archbishop then asked the King to grant, observe, and uphold the canonical rights and privileges of the clergy, and to protect the clergy themselves. The King promised this, and went up to the sanctuary chancel, where an altar had been erected, and a theatre in front of it, and the King's throne in the middle of the theatre—and put his hand on the Bible, saying: "What I have promised, that I will observe; so help me God, and the contents of this book." Then the Archbishop, standing near the altar, anointed the palms of the King's hands, with some words and prayers, then his breast, shoulders, the back between the shoulders, and lastly his arms and head.

The King after this again went to the altar, and the Archbishop gave him the sword, which one of the nobles buckled on him; and the Archbishop placed the crown on his head, whereupon all the earls, viscounts, and barons placed their own coronets upon their heads. The King offered the sword upon the altar. The sceptre was put into his hand by the Archbishop, and, amid the acclamations of the people, he was conducted to the throne by the Chancellor, Marshal, and Constable of the kingdom. The homage was then performed, all kneeling in turn and placing their hands within those of the King, which is the ancient ceremony; the Archbishop and bishops saying, "I will be faithful and true;" and the nobles, "I—A. or B.—make myself your man and vassal." Then they laid their hands upon the crown, with these words: "So help me God, as I to thee will be true."

There were many other rites in which the Archbishop, the bishops, and peers took part, and many in which the King and the Archbishop were the actors, and frequent going backwards and forwards between the altar and the throne, and several other chairs of state, on one or other of which the King took his seat according to the various requirements of the ceremony. A sermon followed, and the communion was celebrated according to the Anglican rite. The English call it "service," the Scots, and especially the Puritans, a Mass turned upside down, English superstition, Romish idolatry, stage plays, etc. It appeared to me an imitation of the Mass. The altar was laid out with great costliness and splendour, there was an introit with collects, oblation of bread and wine, and a form of consecration; on the altar were books, candles, crucifix, images of the Apostles, etc., music both of chant and organ, and many other things, about which our Puritan friends repeat some lines of a Scottish poet :—

Cur duo, sed clausi, libri stant Regis in ara?
Lumina cœca duo, pocula sicca duo?
An lumen cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cœca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano ut ritu regalem sterneret aram,
Purpuream finxit relligiosa lupam.

By Act III. of this Parliament the introduction of the rites of the Anglican Church into the Scottish Synagogue is enacted and confirmed. I subjoin the Act *verbatim*.

Act III.

Of His Majesty's royal prerogative and the apparel of Kirkmen. Our most serene Lord, by the advice, assent, and consent of all the Estates of the realm

acknowledging His Majesty's supreme authority, princely power, royal prerogative and privilege of the Crown over all estates, persons and causes whatsoever within this kingdom, ratifies and approves the Act of Parliament passed in the year 1606 on the Royal Prerogative, and gives perpetual force to the same, in favour of His Highness, his heirs and successors, as fully, absolutely, and freely as was possessed and exercised by any of His Majesty's royal progenitors, and by this his authority declares that all things enacted in the Act of the Parliament held in the year 1609 concerning the apparel of judges, magistrates, and Churchmen, were lawfully established by consent of Parliament, and what order soever His Majesty's father, of happy memory, prescribed for the apparel of Churchmen, and sent in writing to the Clerk of the Register—that is the officer who writes out the public acts and places them among the records—the same shall be sufficient proof and testimony for the insertion thereof in the books of parliament, and shall have the force of an Act of Parliament. They all agreed that the same power should continue to reside in the person of the most serene Lord N. and his successors, with the same form to be observed in its execution, as is contained in the aforesaid Act.

By means of the statute just quoted, the King proposes to introduce the whole of the English ecclesiastical ritual into Scotland. It is said he intends shortly to send the Marquis of Hamilton to this country, charged with the execution of this mandate. The Puritans are grieved, offended, and exasperated, to the last degree; other people express themselves wholly uncertain what religion they shall now adopt, since the laws of the country do not permit them to declare themselves Catholics, while their own faith is subject to

so many startling variations and metamorphoses every day. So that a great many now think, and openly profess, that to believe in God and the Holy Trinity, keep God's commandments, and hope for salvation through the blood of Christ, is the only religion which it is safe to trust to, for this life and the next, and not a few have asked me whether that is not my opinion also.

Some other Acts of this Parliament tend plainly and evidently to the ruin and destruction of the commonwealth and of the people; and it is commonly said that the King's coming into Scotland is like Christ's entry into Jerusalem, when the people cried out one day, "Hosanna in the highest," and the next, "Crucify him, crucify him." John Leslie, lately made Bishop of the Isles, a very independent and free-spoken man, told this to the King as he was at dinner, on the borders of England and Scotland, on his return, and the King immediately paused in his dinner and ate no more. It is reported that the King means to restore the seven Sacraments; and that he will shortly hold another Parliament expressly for the purpose of determining on the future treatment of the Catholics. Both these, however, are inventions of the Puritan clergy to avert the introduction of the Anglican ritual into Scotland, hoping that if the King and Council are prevented from persecuting the Catholics, this object may be secured. It only remains to commend the welfare of this country and the preservation of this unhappy Mission, and of myself, to your special care and charity, and to your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble son and servant in Christ,

JOHN LESLIE, S.J.

30th September 1633.

I have since heard that the principal reasons for summoning the new Parliament are: 1. To complete the introduction of the Anglican ritual into Scotland, and the fusion of the two Churches into one. 2. To repeal certain Acts passed in the last one, which are thought likely to be injurious to the commonwealth. As to the Catholics, there is no doubt that the ministers will strain every nerve for the complete abolition and extermination of the true religion. I hear the Parliament is to meet on the 1st of November next.

Father Andrew Leslie *to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

30th May 1635.

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
Pax Christi.

I have frequently had occasion to write about the state of this Mission, and the common calamities of Scotland, and now I have a still sadder message to transmit. First, our best workers have left us and are gone beyond seas, having fully borne

[1] Father Andrew Leslie, brother of F.F. John and William Leslie, entered the novitiate of the Society in Belgium in 1627. He was a man of considerable talent and observation, as the letters which he left behind him abundantly prove. After discharging missionary duties chiefly in the Highlands for about sixteen years, he was seized in May 1647, and committed to Aberdeen gaol. There he was submitted to a very strict examination and was soon after transferred to Edinburgh. The wisdom and courage of his answers filled the Catholics with joy and consolation, while his meekness and patience in the midst of the cruelties, privations, and severities of his imprisonment extorted the praise and admiration of his bitterest enemies. After more than a year's incarceration Father Leslie was released and ordered to quit the realm. With broken health and much bodily suffering, he reached the Scotch College at Douay. There is unfortunately no record to inform us when and where so meritorious a career was closed.—Oliver *Collectanea*, Father McLeod *Menology*.

the heat and burden of the day; and next, our Lord seems to be calling those who remained to cultivate the vineyard, one by one to Himself. Father John Leslie —my brother by a double tie—determined that no misfortunes, as he wrote to your Reverence, should withdraw him from his station here. He would suffer any hardship rather than let Catholics want his assistance, when they had so few priests. He remained, therefore, but was extremely ill at intervals for a year and a half, and about the beginning of January last his condition became very serious indeed. However, when Lent came round he thought he was better, began to rise from his bed, and continued the rule of fasting to the end.

On the sacred day of Easter he felt his malady return with greater violence, and after endeavouring in vain to struggle against it, he lay down to die. I went to him at once. He was preparing himself for death, and had twice made his confession. He rallied a little, then began to sink, but retained the power of speech to his latest breath. On the 23rd of May, the Saturday within the octave of Pentecost, about two o'clock in the afternoon, he rendered up his soul to God, passing away in a gentle slumber. Many Catholics were by at the time, and were greatly edified, by the contrast between this peaceful end and the despairing death of some of the Calvinist preachers.

Let me report to your Reverence these three things regarding him. He was an indefatigable labourer during the seven years he was on the Mission; he was accustomed to travel at all seasons of the year; and just before his last illness he made a long journey through the passes of the mountains, in deep snow, in order to keep the festival of the Nativity with the

Catholics who lived there. He was kind to others and severe to himself, and had a winning charity which conciliated every one, and attracted them to faith and virtue. He had also a remarkable gift of rendering spiritual aid to the dying. A year ago a man of high rank, being in the agony of death, saw a frightful fiend standing by his side, accusing him of his sins. A woman who was attending him, who was a Catholic, desired him to place his hopes in Christ, and reminded him that his sins were blotted out in confession. The sick man on this recovered his confidence, and said: "I see St Michael the Archangel present and my confessor with him, and the enemy is driven away and gone." Father John had been with him a few days before, and instructed him how to make a good and pious end; this was an aged man, and of simple mind.

Many others had been similarly prepared for death in previous years by the Father's counsel and direction, and were greatly consoled and strengthened, and enabled to die in pious hope. He was also excellent in giving practical advice, with the best possible effect, and in guiding weak judgments, and was greatly loved on this account. To this he added an unshaken firmness of resolution, which shrank from no dangers, was troubled by no misfortunes that befell him, terrified by no threats of the heretics, though they often sought his life. He died beloved by all the Catholics, who lamented his loss; while the Calvinists, and especially the bishop of these parts, his implacable enemy, openly rejoiced at the removal of so strenuous a champion of Catholic piety and vanquisher of heresy. He profoundly respected the rule of the Society, and frequently renewed his vows in the pains of sickness

and in the struggle of death, he was glad to die under your gentle rule, because it made him in some sort your companion. He is regretted by us all, and by me especially, who was his humblest brother and colleague, and who have often benefited by his advice and example. He died in extreme poverty, to his own great joy. I am now engaged in paying his debts, which, however, will be easily done, and I lose no time in reporting his death to you, the sooner to obtain for him the customary offices of charity.

For what regards myself, I will do and suffer anything rather than leave my post, especially just now, when some of the older priests belonging to other Orders are preparing to go away, and some of our own have only lately gone. We have now a hope of richer harvests than for many years past. The persecution very unexpectedly has in great measure ceased, and the deadly conflicts raging between the Protestants and Puritans leaves the field clear for us. I trust your Reverence will not conclude, from the frequent complaints and lamentations which have reached you of our extreme destitution and sufferings in former years, that we had then, or have now, any idea of abandoning our labours. Our object was only to make our wants known with a view to getting them supplied, if possible. If it is not possible, we are ready to suffer any extremity rather than lose the opportunity of proclaiming the Faith.

Your most humble servant,

ANDREW LESLIE.

Father Andrew Leslie *to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

From Scotland, 2*nd October* 1635.

Very Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

I wrote to your Reverence in May, July, and September of this year, and pointed out several things which I thought that you ought to know, or would like to know, and some which I thought required your immediate attention. I must now describe the state of this kingdom, that you may thus be able to judge what hopes there are of the success of the Catholic cause. Two years ago the persecution subsided, and gave the Catholics hope of being able to breathe, and this summer especially their fury has been restrained. The cause we know not; some say the King is not disinclined to the Catholic religion, and some of the people about the Queen noticed that he rather loved the Catholic worship than not. The treaty, or truce, whichever it is to be called, between the Catholic King and the King of Great Britain, has certainly had the effect of giving us an appearance of tranquillity in the midst of our troubles.

The King is now in violent conflict with the Puritans, especially in Scotland, and this has put a stop to the prosecution of Catholics by law, for the ministers and preachers, who were the authors of the persecution, now consider themselves the persecuted party, and are in such difficulties, that they have no leisure to invent schemes of annoyance and oppression against us, as they did so diligently and craftily in

former years. It is nevertheless surprising it should be so, because it is their bishops who now guide the helm of State. The Primate is Chancellor of the kingdom, and five others, I think, have been appointed on the Council, and they manage everything just as they think right.

I have already stated that His Majesty wants to introduce the Anglican ritual into the Scottish synagogue. Altars are erected, organs being built, matins and evensong sung daily, the surplice worn at the altar and in the pulpit, the communion received kneeling, the festivals of our Lord and the Apostles observed. All these things are redolent of popish idolatry, in the opinion of the Puritans, who have said so in a book they have lately published, notwithstanding the addition which the King has made to their revenues and benefices. The Protestant bishops have applied for the abbacies, in order to have the ritual celebrated with greater splendour in their Cathedrals. This proposal is resisted by some of the noblemen who have held the property of the abbeys for many years; but the most illustrious Marquis of Hamilton, who held a valuable estate belonging to an abbey, gave it up at the King's request, and this has been an example to the others, who do not venture to keep this sort of property when the chief of the nobility has surrendered his.

Thus they are restoring the Church property by degrees to the Church, by a sort of *post liminium;* whether it will be of any advantage to the Catholic cause, God alone knows. If Scotland becomes Catholic, she will not grudge to her priests and pastors, possessions which her Calvinist fathers have surrendered, however unwillingly, to their hireling ministers.

Whether there is reason to expect more conversions to the unity of the Church from this new Episcopal sect, than there were from the obstinate heresy of the Puritans before them, it is impossible to say. They consider that they have added the element of splendour which was wanting in their Church, so that the pomp of Roman ceremonial will no longer attract. The Puritans, if ever they abandon their obstinate opinions, will be more likely to embrace the truth than imitate these apings of Roman piety. A few people, perplexed by these changes of worship, have fallen in love with the constancy and completeness of the Catholic system, but the greater number suspend their judgment and attach themselves to no particular religion. The most serene King hopes notwithstanding to secure unity of religious belief by means of the State bishops, though he acknowledges himself that it will take some time, owing to the resistance of the Puritans; so that the Calvinists are not only separated from the Catholics, but divided among themselves as well.

Meanwhile the common law of the country is rather languid. Bands of robbers prowl in all directions, especially in the hill districts, and even in the heart of the kingdom. They do not seem much afraid of the State bishops, who are more intent on increasing their own revenues than in suppressing brigandage. Theft and robbery are frequent, and are practised with impunity; homicide and murder are not so common, yet occur occasionally, and the guilty can elude the law by fine, or flight, or removal to another neighbourhood. They find friends at court, and obtain pardon from the Council by their intercession. The robbers boast accordingly of the number of their victims, and say that no one dares to prosecute or bring them to justice.

One element in the persecution of Catholics exists meanwhile in all its severity. They are cast out of the Calvinist synagogue by sentence of excommunication, and then cannot get a hearing in the tribunals of justice. This is a serious hardship, for any one can injure them with impunity, or take proceedings against them at law, which they cannot rebut, all civil rights being interdicted to Catholics.

I have before spoken of the difficulty of restoring the lapsed. Some have, however, returned to a better mind, since the severity of the persecution abated. One illustrious family I restored to the faith this summer; another, or some members of it, will I hope return shortly. Poverty more than anything else represses our exertions, because we cannot go about the country without money. Three years of scarcity have exhausted the means of most people, of Catholics especially, reduced to poverty as they already were by the persecution. We workers, even to this hour, hunger and thirst and want clothing. We hope for relief from the charity of your Reverence and our other benefactors, to whom we commend ourselves and the sufferings of this Mission.

Your most humble servant,

A[NDREW] L[ESLIE], S.J.

Letter of Father Rob *to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

2nd January 1636.

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
Pax Christi.

I make a point of not troubling your Reverence with a letter when there is nothing to say beyond the customary salutation, but to communicate on the other hand anything that occurs of importance. You have long ago heard of the lamentable death of the Earl John Gordon of Aboyne, son of the Marquis of Huntly, some years ago, by the firing of a house at which he had arrived to protect its master, against whom an attack was planned; and who is suspected of being the author of his death. But perhaps you have not heard of what has occurred since in the course of enquiries instituted by his father after the authors of the deed. Finding that the laws of the country did not enable him to bring the person suspected of the crime to trial before the courts, he resolved to commit the whole cause to God alone, who generally brings such things to light in His own good time.

Some men of the Gordon clan, whose relatives had been burnt together with the Earl, finding no steps taken for the punishment by law of so atrocious an outrage, that their friends were killed and buried unavenged, and that the suspected party not only lived

[1] Thomas Rob was employed in the Scottish Mission in 1636. Three years later he went to London on behalf of the Mission. He was Rector of Douay College from 1640 to 1646, when he returned to the Scottish Mission. He resided with Lady Nithsdale till 1672. He then returned to Douay, where he was still living in 1673.

free from censure, but often insulted and triumphed over them and their followers, both by words and actual violence — for they lived together — resolved upon vengeance, lawful or lawless. They met, and settled to assassinate him, but not being able to accomplish this, for he suspected their purpose and went elsewhere, they killed his cattle, burnt his corn, and plundered and wasted his land. This being reported to the King, he immediately commanded the Marquis of Huntly, under penalty of *lèse majesté*, to apprehend these men who bore his name. The Marquis promised to do what he could, and sent out a band of armed men to take them. Some of them, warned of the danger, got away to foreign parts, others concealed themselves, and some were taken by the Marquis's officers, and put to the sword or hanged.

Thereupon their leader, whose name was Adam Gordon, seeing the Marquis had taken up the matter in earnest and really meant to punish them (and being aware that the Councillors of State hated the house of Gordon for their religion, and for the great jurisdiction and influence they exercised over all the north of Scotland, and would be only too delighted to have the head of that house accused of an act of violence of this sort) went to the Earl of Traquair, and promised, if his life was granted him, to reveal the authors of the outrage, among whom he intimated was the Marquis himself. The mention of the name of the Marquis easily obtained him credence, and being brought before the Council and assured of his own safety, he denounced the Marquis of Huntly as the author and encourager of the deed of violence.

Traquair's bold accusation was received, and the Marquis cited to appear in the month of December.

He came, and was immediately thrown into close confinement in Edinburgh, and no one, not even his wife, allowed to see him. This was the treatment awarded to the first nobleman of the kingdom, a man eighty years of age and infirm, on a groundless accusation, brought forward by one man, an outlaw, to save his own life. It continued fourteen or fifteen days, and then they became ashamed of it, and allowed him to go where he liked within the circuit of the walls of the castle, and any one who wished to, was permitted to speak to him. The whole matter has been reported to the King, and as he is of most clement disposition, wholly alien to such barbarity as this, it is thought likely he will by no means approve the proceedings of his Councillors. How the matter will turn out, time must show. The outlaw in the meantime accuses the Lord John Scott and Lord Abernethy as accomplices and promoters of the same outrage, and on this account the Marquis has been required to bring Lord Scott and Lord Abernethy before the Council.

A description of Mr Ogilvie[1] has been given to Matthew Weems, who is minister of the village known as Canongate, near Edinburgh, and holds a faculty from Government authorising him to enter and search the houses of Catholics to see if any priest is hidden there. Mr Alexander Robertson,[2] who had lately returned to Scotland from Germany, was compelled to leave his

[1] Father Alexander Ogilvie, S.J. For about thirty years he diligently worked in Scotland, and was hailed as the Father of the poor. During the rage for the Covenant, he retired to Ireland, where he was seized and sent to jail in London; after some months he was taken on board a vessel and landed in France. But he soon returned to his dear flock in Scotland.

[2] Father Alexander Robertson, S.J.

domicile on the fifteenth of December, while the sky seemed falling in one great avalanche, not without great danger of his life, for he was so buried in snow that he could neither see where he was, or know where he was going. Many Catholic families have been ordered to leave, under heavy penalties, but know not where to go.

You now know the present condition of our affairs. *Post nubila Phœbus, speramus meliora, tunc hæc meminisse juvabit.* God grant that we may be enduring all this, not for the punishment of our sins, but to merit life eternal. This country seems hated by God and man, but He Who of the stones is able to raise up sons to Abraham, can of sinners make the greatest saints, and the greatest rebels friends of all the world. I say rebels, for I do not think there exists under the sun a more rebellious nation than this; words cannot express how they hate the Catholic faith. Many seek its conversion, though it only merits punishment. I pray your Reverence to remember it in your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers. I say nothing of our temporal affairs, that being the duty of others.

Your most humble son in Christ,

THOMAS ROB.

Father William Christie *to* Father General (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

24th May 1636.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,

You have received many letters on the wretched state of our Mission, and I wrote lately to inform you also of the case of the most illustrious Marquis of Huntly, who was kept in custody from the 14th of December to the 24th of May, on the false information of an incendiary. The first eight days he suffered very close imprisonment, the rest of the time he was confined to the Castle, or the city, much to the astonishment of many. At last the falsehood was discovered and the innocence of the noble old man proved to the satisfaction of the King and Parliament. To-day he has been set at liberty, by command of the most serene King Charles, but his strength is so reduced by age and sickness that in the opinion of his medical attendants he is not likely to recover. Under these circumstances he has requested that one of our Fathers, who was going elsewhere, should remain with him, and it is impossible to refuse this request. The Father's name has been invidiously reported to the authorities,

[1] Father William Christie, born in 1584, entered the Society in Austria in 1616. For five years he was Superior of the Scottish Mission.

Father John Macbreck, in a letter dated 7th April 1628, highly extols his zeal and labours, having already reconciled to the Church more than four hundred persons. He subsequently became Chaplain to the Marquis of Huntly's family, and assisted at that nobleman's edifying death at Dundee, 15th June 1636. He left Scotland for the Continent, 25th January 1642, and succeeded Father Robert Gall as Rector of the Scotch College, Douay, 17th March 1650. He appears by the Diary of the College to have been declared Rector for the second time 8th May 1656. He died on 12th October 1665.—Van Hulthem MS. n. 562, Royal Library, Brussels.

but without result. God always protects the innocent. I write in haste. The aged nobleman and his lady earnestly commend themselves to your Reverence and to your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your servant in Christ,

WILLIAM CHRISTIE.

FATHER WILLIAM CHRISTIE *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

16*th June* 1636.

VERY REV. FATHER IN CHRIST,

I informed you yesterday of the death of the most illustrious Marquis of Huntly, an event lamented by all good men, but which the wicked have long and eagerly looked for. The grief of the former is moderated by the recollection of so glorious a life, followed by a still more glorious death. His noble example, his gentle words of encouragement and pious admonitions while he was alive, and especially those addressed to several persons just before his death, have strengthened many whose faith was wavering, animated the resolute, and brought many wanderers back to the way of truth. There are many eye-witnesses of this, and among them the most Illustrious Earl of Errol.

They all saw a most upright and noble prince attacked, not in Parliament only, but in the Court of his Sovereign, by the poisoned arrows of false informations and party prejudice, and the efforts of his enemies defeated and their falsehood exposed, and himself cleared from suspicion and calumny, by God's

HUNTLY HOUSE,

The Edinburgh home of the Marquis of Gordon. (See p. 181)

Reproduced, by kind permission, from "Old Houses in Edinburgh." Drawn by Bruce J. Home.

grace and the commands of the good King Charles. They also heard the generous and noble-hearted old man, now seventy-five years of age, and with his bodily strength wasted with long illness, yet with intellectual powers unimpaired and a heart full of the love of God, acknowledging the blessings he had received and proclaiming the praise of his Creator and Preserver, so that the nearer he drew to death the more he seemed to rise superior to all merely human accidents, and even death itself.

For six months—as I stated in my last letter—the Marquis was kept in Edinburgh Castle, first in strict confinement, then with greater liberty, but still within the walls of the Castle, and lastly in the town, where his most illustrious lady had resided all the time with her family. The Father went to him first when he was in the town, for he could not be admitted into the Castle. His name was reported to the Council—as you are quite aware—out of detestation for the Marquis and for the Catholic religion, a feeling which is now appeased; but no threats or dangers influenced him, and he remained with the Marquis day and night, to the great consolation of all the family, and the sick man especially.

On the third of June, though very infirm, the Marquis set off towards his home, and travelled from Edinburgh to Leith, a distance of only a mile, but he was very ill, and passed a sleepless night. Yet on the morning of the 4th he went on board a vessel and crossed to Burntisland—*insula adusta*—as the town is called, and thence travelled twenty miles to Dundee; but he had to be carried part of the way in a chair, and rode the rest in a two-wheeled carriage, and the transit occupied him seven days.

His strength declined every day and hour, so that at Dundee, which is an important town in the province of Angus, every one said he was dying, and he himself thought only of death and the eternal life that follows it. He settled all his worldly affairs, and dismissed them, fixing his mind thenceforward only on heavenly things. He prepared himself to receive duly the most holy Sacraments of the Church, and he received them, even the last Unction, with the greatest alacrity and cheerfulness. When all had been rightly performed, the Father said to him: "Illustrious lord, recall the mercies of God, thinking over in your mind what you do not express in words, and for a thanksgiving we will say the hymn *Te Deum Laudamus.*"

The Marquis raised his voice almost beyond his strength, and recited every word of the hymn with so much energy and devotion as to bring tears into the eyes of all who heard him, as was often the case when he poured out ejaculatory prayers to God and verses from the psalms and the sacred scriptures, of which he knew a great many by heart. The good and useful advice he gave to his noble wife, his friends, retainers, and servants, cannot be recorded here, for want of space.

While they all wept bitterly, he alone seemed unconcerned, and said with perfect cheerfulness: "If you love me, leave off weeping, and pray for me to the great and good God, to whose presence I am gladly hastening." The litanies for the dying, and the other customary prayers, being concluded, he lovingly gave his last farewell to all present, and sent it to the absent, especially to his son the Marquis, who had not yet arrived from France. He left many messages for him,

part of which were written down and signed by his own hand, and the rest entrusted to the Father to deliver.

His noble lady had two years before, as I stated at the time, given our labourers in this Mission, who were then in great poverty, the largest donation we had ever received, but the Marquis now left us a much larger sum. So that, as I wrote yesterday, our Mission has lost not only a powerful protector, but a liberal benefactor. He also distributed tokens of gratitude and affection to his servants, and after this he remained so intent on heavenly things that he would neither speak of, nor listen to anything belonging to this world. Once he heard someone talking about business in his room, and motioning to the Father, he said: "Father, tell them not to talk any more just now of worldly matters."

His conversation was only of God, and the Saints, and especially of the most holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary. He never would let the Father leave him, and said often: "Father, stay by my bed, and watch with me. We know neither the day nor the hour. Death is at the door," etc. Among other things the Father delighted him greatly by telling him, that while he was at Rome, Pope Urban[1] had granted him—the Marquis—the plenary indulgence of the jubilee at the hour of death, a spiritual advantage of which he made a happy use. Also that he had a share in the merits of the Society, conveyed in a letter signed by your Reverence and duly sealed. His strength was now quite exhausted, but as long as he retained the power of speech he never left off praising the goodness of Almighty God and imploring His mercy, frequently saying the psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, and "Jesu have

[1] Urban VIII.

mercy on me a sinner; Jesu, be to me a Jesus; I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ."

Suffering acutely from stone, he said, "Burn or cut, in this life, but spare me in eternity. The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come. God forbid I should boast, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." He continued repeating these words, or others like them, as long as he could speak, and until he died, maintaining throughout the sweet intercourse of his departing soul with God and the Saints, repeating the names of Jesus, and of his Mother, "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, protect us from the enemy, and receive us at the hour of death. Waiting I have waited for the Lord, etc. Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

At length, on Tuesday the 14th of June, after a very bad night, his voice failed, and his tongue could no longer frame words, but he still conversed with the Father by signs, according to a plan agreed upon, and did so with such wonderful distinctness as to astonish all who saw him, and seemed to be revealing the inmost secrets of his mind in devotion to an image of Jesus Crucified which hung near his bed, with the most perfect cheerfulness in the expression of his countenance. He had a gold cross hung round his neck, containing some relics of Saints, and he always held this in one or other of his hands. After a time he ceased to recognise anyone, except the Father's voice repeating the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, which he replied to emphatically by signs and movements. About four o'clock in the afternoon, on the 15th of June, he rendered up his happy soul to God.

All was done according to Catholic usage, when he was dead, although Puritan prejudice was very strong

in the town, and physicians and surgeons then came and embalmed the body. They found a stone in the orifice of the bladder, weighing over four ounces, and showing marks of the action of strong heat; and what occasioned surprise to some, a cruciform ossification was discovered in the heart. The other organs were sound and in good health. I write now in haste; at another time I may possibly be able to relate some most charming passages of his life. I can add no more now, but that the illustrious chief often commended himself to your Reverence and to your prayers, before his death. His Lady earnestly joins in the same request, as I also do.

Your servant in Christ,

William Christie.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COVENANTERS

Introductory Note

During the year 1635, the current of events had been on the whole untroubled. The effect was that many who had fallen away from the faith returned to the Catholic Church (p. 197); others who had been obstinate heretics became firm Catholics. Many were induced to abandon long-standing feuds. Rites and ceremonies not very dissimilar to the rites of the Catholic Church were everywhere introduced by the State-bishops, and these, in spite of the loud remonstrances of the Puritans, repudiated not a few of the dogmas of Calvin. Their ecclesiastical hierarchy was gaining ground. Organs were heard, altars erected in the temples. All this caused many to hope for the restoration of the faith of their fathers (pp. 189-198).

Since the year 1635, the aspect of affairs had been widely different from what it was before, and much more discouraging (p. 196). The year 1636 was rendered mournful by the death of the Marquis of Huntly (p. 199), and shortly after by the shameful defection of Thomas Abernethy (p. 202). In 1638 there was a new rebellion of the sectaries. Charles I., wishing to unite the two nations in their religious belief, determined to force upon the Scots the liturgy of the Anglican Church. Then arose a violent movement among the Puritans. They assembled an army of twenty thousand soldiers, attacked the King's armed forces, invaded England, and compelled the King to publish new decrees against Catholics (p. 205).

The principal men in the kingdom were assembled in a Parliament and confirmed the Covenant (p. 205). On a simple refusal to attend their churches they turned the Catholics out of their houses and seized their property (p. 209). Some of them went into banishment to England or Ireland, and not a few to Belgium or to France (p. 209). In the South no priest could obtain shelter even for

a night. In the North they were hidden away in narrow dungeons (p. 191).

At the beginning of November 1639, Catholics were cited singly to appear before certain Commissioners, and required to subscribe the Covenant (p. 194), with a solemn oath that they considered it just and holy. Failing this they were to leave Scotland immediately and never to return (p. 194). The Marquis of Douglas and the Earl of Nithsdale were ordered to take the solemn Oath and Covenant, or quit the country at once, and the Earl of Abercorn, who was in great straits through poverty, could not return to Scotland without danger of his life (p. 196).

If a Catholic refused to go to their church, they would send forty or sixty soldiers into his house, his cattle were driven away, and his furniture removed by stealth (p. 210). They laid hands on the charters and title-deeds, and refused to restore them until they attended their church. Some of the nobles who were on the King's side were thrown into prison, where several of them died (p. 210).

The Covenanting soldiers often searched the houses of Catholics, who were obliged in the middle of the night, in the depth of winter, to leave their refuge amid the frost and whirling snow (p. 212). If a priest obtained the shelter of a Catholic roof, he was often obliged to leave it before nightfall, and spend the night in the woods and mountains (p. 212). All, however, continued, not without peril of their lives, to administer the Sacraments (p. 213). A fatal decree was issued in 1641 requiring all priests to leave the country on pain of death. It was even ordered by Parliament that the Marchioness of Huntly must go into exile abroad (p. 229).

The peril grew greater every day. The Calvinists resolved to stamp out the last spark of true religion, and Father Macbreck wrote that he had never experienced so universal and so terrible a persecution (p. 216). In 1643 the missioners feared they might have to desert their post and run away (p. 220). In February 1644 Father Macbreck was perhaps the only missioner of the Society left in the kingdom at all. The Catholics were not allowed to cross the seas and go abroad. If they got leave to do so, they lost all their goods (pp. 221, 222).

On the 4th of March 1644, Father Rob, writing from Douay, rejoiced at the arrival from Scotland of youths of great promise, but complained that there were so few priests in Scotland. The harvest was so great that there would be work enough for twenty Fathers (p. 225).

The ministers, however, soon urged on the persecution, and by sentences of proscription and exclusion from the courts of law, the ruin of Catholics was pursued all the more earnestly because they still remained loyal to the King (p. 228).

The exiled Marchioness of Huntly had died shortly after her arrival in France, and Lady Aboyne, whose house had always been a sort of asylum for Catholics for the celebration of divine worship, died on the 12th of March 1642 (p. 233). The loss of the houses of Errol, and of other noble families, deprived the missioners of protection. In several other Catholic homes the heirs were dead or had been taken away from their parents to be educated in heresy. The priests had lost most of their friends; any one could bring them before the judges; they had to seek new hiding-places. Still they had hopes of new accessions to the faith (p. 234), and these hopes were justified. A Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, and a man of high rank and large fortune (pp. 236, 238) in Edinburgh, made a public confession of faith. The preachers then sent a military force to invade Catholic houses and to capture the priests. Easter was near, and there seemed a good chance of apprehending them. So Mass had to be celebrated during the night (p. 245). As soon as it was over the priests made their escape into the hills. Some young noblemen were threatened with banishment, and it was resolved to reduce Catholics to destitution (p. 246).

Meanwhile, many of the Calvinist ministers had advanced very near to the views of Anabaptists, others openly spread the sect of the Familists (pp. 252, 253). The reports that were spread of the iniquities of their assemblies aroused general detestation of the sect (pp. 253, 261).

In the year 1637, the greater part of the late Lady Huntly's court and household returned to Scotland and met with a hostile reception, and the Calvinists endeavoured to procure from them some confession of their religion (p. 258).

On the 1st of January 1644 died Robert Bisset of Lessendrum, after enduring many sufferings for the Catholic faith (p. 265).

The Marquis of Montrose, considering the Catholics the most faithful supporters of the King, welcomed them all the more on account of their faith. In his army he allowed the priests of the Society free scope for the exercise of their faith (p. 266). Montrose, however, took the field too early. The Covenanters recalled their regiments, and invaded the North of Scotland, Montrose disbanded his army and fled to the extreme northern part of the island. No

place was safe for priests or Catholics. Argyll refused nothing to the Calvinist preachers (p. 267), and they began to hunt the priests, plundered the houses of Catholics, and turned them out of doors (p. 269).

It was among the hills that the priests usually found a refuge, for Argyll searched for them everywhere. A considerable number of Royalist gentlemen, disguised in common dress, also lived among the hills of the Highlands (pp. 275, 276). Some of them were taken prisoners and taken to Edinburgh for trial and execution, and all persons who had supported the King were declared guilty of high treason (p. 278).

Father James Macbreck *to* Father General

From England, 14*th August* 1638.

Pax Christi.

Your Reverence is aware of the wretched state of this afflicted Mission, this year especially. For some three months past I have been unable to maintain my post, or make any excursions to any part of Scotland. I was obliged to retreat into England, because the illustrious Earl with whom I have principally lived for twelve years past, was accused of keeping a member of our Society in his house. The madness and hatred of the Puritans against the Catholics grow fiercer every day, and many whole families of Catholics have been compelled to seek a refuge in England. I myself am resolved, relying on the help of God, to resume the work undertaken by our Society for the salvation of souls in this vineyard, as soon as I can find a place to lay my head, or from which I can escape at need, to whatever degree of misery I may be reduced, and even at the risk of my life. I have therefore determined to return to Scotland at the earliest date possible, and,

relying on God's assistance, to make another attempt in that laborious and difficult vineyard of our Lord. If, to my great grief, I am absolutely compelled to abandon the Mission again (I have only done so now temporarily, and by the advice of friends whose safety I consulted more than my own), you will, I hope, direct me as to what province I go to, and where I am to live. Whatever you appoint, I shall be found most ready to do. Meanwhile I commend myself and all this afflicted Mission to the most Holy Sacrifices and prayers of your Paternity.

Your Reverence's most unworthy servant and son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

FATHER ROB *to* FATHER GENERAL (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

LONDON, 14*th September* 1639.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

Owing to the negotiations in progress between the King and the Scots, though Scotland is by no means tranquil, we have at any rate the opportunity of corresponding with our friends by letter, and I have lately received three or four, describing the dreadful straits to which those especially, who live in the southern part of the country, are reduced. There is a general panic, so that people who used to afford us shelter and lodging for a night, will not now let one of our Society come near them. In the north they are not quite so badly off, because there are still some few places where they can retreat,

but even so they have to be hidden away in narrow dungeons where they can hardly breathe. Yet none of ours complain on their own account, or seek to shun their difficulties as long as they can snatch a single soul from the jaws of the wolves, who are ever ready to spring upon Catholics, and threaten to proceed to extremities against them, and will do so, unless hindered by the hand of God.

But for us even in this extremity there is a hope remaining. They are fighting, as they allege, for liberty of conscience, and have staked their lives and all they have on their opposition to the King. They would rather lose all they have in the world than incur the pangs of conscience by joining in a ritual which they think opposed to the truth, and this consideration may possibly induce them to desist from persecuting the Catholics. Indeed, if their proceedings are really founded on a regard for true religion, they cannot avoid treating Catholics with more forbearance. No order has been published having special reference to Catholics; only there is a rumour of an uncertain kind, that they must conform within a year, or leave the country, under penalty of confiscation of all their goods, and perpetual imprisonment. They have expelled the episcopal order from the church, and declared ecclesiastics incapable of any voice, active or passive, in political matters. God turn all to good, and may your Reverence remember us in your Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your Reverence's most humble servant and son in Christ,

THOMAS ROB.

FATHER THOMAS ROB *to* FATHER GENERAL.

LONDON, 31*st October* 1639.

VERY REV. FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

I was daily expecting a reply to some of your letters, which I had sent, with others of my own, to our Superior in Scotland, when the messenger to whom I had entrusted them for delivery came to-day to tell me that they had been intercepted and read by some of the principal Covenanters, and that finding nothing which concerned them, they had burnt them. Some others, however, which I had sent by a merchant, were duly received, as you will see from the contents of the enclosed. I was obliged to keep these letters by me for a long time on account of the disturbed state of the country, till a safe opportunity of sending them should arise, but it seems I was mistaken, if a matter is to be judged by its event. We were daily expecting an end of our civil dissensions, but all at once, a week ago, everything that seemed settled was unsettled again.

There has appeared an order from the King, declaring that the episcopal dignity is not repugnant to the word of God, and is not to be abolished in the King's dominions. The Parliament seemed in full session, when it was interrupted by the King's order, and prorogued to next June. But later advices from Scotland point out that the Covenanters had concluded their work in Parliament as regarded the ecclesiastical affairs decided there or in the Assembly, and agreed to the postponement of other matters. Meanwhile the Royal Commissioner, Lord Traquair, with some others

of the higher nobility, is expected here, and the matter is not expected to end thus.

It has been commonly reported that the castle of Dumbarton has been surprised by the royal troops by stratagem, and the garrison, who held it before, dismissed as untrustworthy. This castle is the strongest in the kingdom, and being situated on the shores of the Irish Sea, whence supplies can easily be brought without being intercepted, and built on a rock inaccessible on the land side, will be of the utmost value to the King from a military point of view. There is said to be a schism in the ranks of the Covenanters, but so far as I can understand it is not of much importance. God turn all things well, to His own greater glory and the tranquillity of our most serene King, and the kingdom. You, with your accustomed charity, will commend the matter to our Lord and God, and remember me in your Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble son and servant in Christ,

TH. ROB.

Lord Semple, a Catholic, died lately. My mother died on the 4th of this month. I earnestly commend her to the sacrifices and prayers of our Fathers.

LONDON, 15*th November* 1639.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

Since I wrote last I have heard again from Scotland the intelligence that the fury of the Covenanters has broken out once more against the

Catholics. They are cited singly to appear before certain deputies appointed for the purpose, and required to subscribe the Covenant, with a solemn oath that they consider it just and holy, and failing this, are to leave Scotland immediately, and never return. Among others the Marquis of Douglas was cited to appear on the *2nd* of this month. On the *9th*, two of the Scottish nobles arrived here from Scotland, the Barons of Dunfermline and Loudon, both considered men of great weight, the latter for his abilities, the former for the number of his friends. Both were commissioned to the King from the assembly of the Covenanters, and among other things were to explain why they had not obeyed the proclamation dissolving the General Assembly summoned under royal authority.[1] Next day, however, they were ordered in the King's name to leave London in forty-eight hours and return direct to Scotland, on pain of incurring the royal displeasure. Accordingly, on the 11th they mounted their horses and rode away, without having accomplished their errand, or having been admitted to the presence of the King. The Covenanters determined to put an end to the Parliament on the 29th of May last, notwithstanding the absence of the Royal commissioner, who had refused to be present on account of the proclamation above referred to. But Colonel Ruthven, commandant of the Castle of Edinburgh —which had lately been repaired under his superintendence, and was well garrisoned and supplied with all requisite munitions of war—turned the great guns on the city and threatened to level it to the ground if they made the slightest attempt to "ride the Parliament," as it is called—they are accustomed to

[1] This occurred in 1638. *Lingard*, VII. 5., p. 212, ed. 1854.

ride through the city on horseback on the dissolution of a Parliament. They desisted accordingly from their attempt. That is the present state of affairs. God turn all to good. I entreat your Reverence by your accustomed charity to pray for a happy issue, to the glory of God and the stability of our most serene King and Queen, and to remember me in your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble son and servant,

ROB.

FATHER ROB *to* FATHER GENERAL.

LONDON, 30*th November* 1639.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

Our fortunes fluctuate like the waves of the sea. Perchance at evening one may tell what has happened in the day; not even Apollo can say what will happen on the morrow. Often we hope for tranquillity and peace, but they say peace when there is no peace, and our hopes are perpetually overthrown. It was said that the Scots had submitted to the King's orders, and prorogued the Parliament till June, and the nobles were gone to their estates. Nothing, however, has been changed, except that the Parliament was prorogued, after they had made and published a declaration asserting the unquestionable validity of everything done hitherto, and which they propose to bring on again at the meeting in June.

The Royal Commissioner, Lord Traquair, arrived

here last Wednesday, and promised all that could be desired, but makes a condition which destroys the effect of his promise, namely, that the episcopal name and office shall be removed from the kingdom altogether, which the King will never agree to. Catholics will be obliged to leave their country immediately; and, in fact, the Marquis of Douglas and the Earl of Nithsdale have been ordered either to take the solemn Oath and Covenant or quit the country at once. The Earl of Abercorn has neither received any part of his revenue for more than a year past, nor can he venture to return to Scotland without imminent danger of his life. There is no one whom they pursue with fiercer hatred, both for his fidelity to God and his loyalty to the King. The separate adventures of our Fathers will be related in the Annual Letters. Your Reverence will, I hope, pray for a happy issue to these troubles, and remember me in your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble son and servant in Christ,

TH. ROB.

Annual Letters of the Scottish Mission of the Society of Jesus, 1635-1642.[1] (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

SINCE the year 1635, up to which date the record of what has occurred in this country has lately been transmitted to your Paternity, the aspect of affairs has been widely different from what it was before, and much more discouraging. In the five previous years, and indeed during 1635, 1636, and 1637, the current of

[1] *Extracta quædam ex annuis Missionis Scoticæ.*

events was, on the whole, tranquil and untroubled, and such as permitted the course of the Catholic religion in this country to flow quietly and gently.

The effect of this was that a considerable number of persons, who had shamefully fallen away from their faith, returned to the bosom of their mother the Church, to our great joy and their own, and that of all their friends. Others who had been obstinate heretics became firm and constant Catholics. Others were reclaimed from profligacy to a holier course of life; and others were induced by our salutary counsels and admonitions to abandon long-standing feuds and ancient quarrels, and return to Christian charity and mutual concord. In consequence, many gave in their submission and applied to be enrolled among the orthodox, and we began to entertain a stronger hope and confidence, than ever before, of the establishment of the Catholic faith in this country. The ritual of the English synagogue and sect, which is not very dissimilar to the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, was everywhere introduced by the State bishops, and these, with other Protestant ministers, as they are called, repudiated not a few of the impious and atrocious dogmas of Calvin, in spite of the loud but fruitless remonstrances of the Puritans.

Their ecclesiastical hierarchy, and monarchical government of the Church, formerly greatly detested in this part of the world, was beginning to gain ground. Organs were heard, and altars erected, in their temples. A liturgy, counterfeit indeed and spurious, but still in many respects in accord with the orthodox worship, was prescribed for the people and the ministers, by the united authority of the King and the bishops. All this caused many to hope for the speedy restoration in

the future of the faith of their fathers, and that the fabric of the Catholic Church, fallen to ruin, would in a short time be restored and re-established in this country.

Among those who had, at this period, embraced the faith was a noble matron who, in her acceptance of the Catholic religion, exhibited the man-like resolution and invincible courage for which she was remarkable. She was the wife of a noble knight, who is very rich and an obstinate heretic, who, on hearing of her disposition towards the faith, left no stone unturned to divert her from her pious purpose. He threatened to separate from her, and deprive the children she had borne him of all share in their paternal inheritance. Once on a distant journey he stopped his horse and took an oath that he would not return home until his wife had, as he phrased it, come to a better mind, and resumed the habit she had left off, of attending the Calvinist temple.

What was the lady to do in such difficulty, and whither could she turn? She took the course which suited her firm and resolute disposition, and at once and fearlessly embraced the faith, choosing rather to suffer any extremity with Christ our Lord in His Church, than enjoy the greatest pleasures of the world elsewhere. In a short space of time she made so much progress in the exercise of Christian virtue, that on the sacred day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mother of God to heaven, at the sacrifice of the Mass, at which she piously assisted, having heard one of our Fathers in his discourse remarking upon many exercises of virtue and piety, which were adopted by Catholics in honour of the most pure Virgin, she determined to carry what she had heard into execution without delay. Returning

home she took the quantity of material required for the dress of a grown-up maiden, and clothed a poor girl with it, in honour of the Immaculate Virgin. Her influence in time had so much effect upon her husband, hitherto obstinate, that he began to consider embracing the faith, and would have done so had not the storm of persecution, which shortly afterwards broke out, kept him from his purpose.

The year 1636 was rendered mournful by the death of the most illustrious Marquis of Huntly. This great man was the advocate and supporter of the Catholic faith and religion as long as he lived, and an eager opponent and assailant of the heretics. He frequently fought them in the field, and more than once in open battle repressed their hostility to the Catholics, with great advantage to the Catholic faith, broke their strength, and repulsed their attacks. He obtained not one but many laurel crowns and palms of victory by signal successes over these opponents; and at the famous battle of Glenlivet, with only a thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry, he routed and put to flight fourteen thousand heretic troops, with great slaughter.

The enemies of the faith never ceased to hate him for this triumph. They burned his castle and proclaimed him guilty of high treason, which means that they denounced him as a rebel. Eight times or oftener they threw him into prison, declared all his goods confiscated, and sentenced him to banishment for two years; all which he bore with unshrinking patience and courage. During the present year he was placed, for several months, in a miserable dungeon by the hatred and envy of the heretics, and in utter defiance of justice, and being nearly eighty years of age, died from the effects of the squalor of his prison. We trust his most innocent

soul, escaped from the prison of the body, has been removed to the eternal freedom of the Saints in heaven.

One of our Fathers was with him when he piously expired, and when he seemed to regret ending his days as he did, in an inn, far away from the stately palaces which belonged to him, profitably reminded him that Christ our Lord was born in an inn, and buried in a sepulchre which belonged to another; a reminder which he listened to with pleasure. When at the point of death he sent messages of counsel and advice to his nearest friends and the members of his household, as well as to heretics, who visited him officially, all which were opportune and adapted to the circumstances and disposition of each. The Earl of Errol, who visited him in his last moments, was so struck with what he said, that for the rest of his life he never used any dissimulation as to his opinions, left off attending the heretic worship, which he had very frequently done, and remained constant in the faith till death.

It is said that Huntly gave his paternal blessing to the Marquis, his eldest son on the sole condition that he would be the heir of his father's faith as well as of his goods, and regard all the heretics and their monstrous dogmas with as much detestation as his father before him. When his body was dissected after death, there was found a cross of bone in the interior of the heart, a singular testimony and emblem of the generosity and firmness of his character and of his attachment to his religion and faith. This noble Marquis was the nephew of the Reverend Father James Gordon Huntly, celebrated among our Society both for his learning and the sanctity of his life, and he always entertained a singular affection and benevolence towards the members of the Society.

RUINS OF HUNTLY CASTLE, SOUTH FRONT.

The noblest of "the stately castles which belonged to George, Marquis of Gordon," whose name may be read along the upper cornice.

From MacGibbon and Ross's "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland" (D. Douglass).

There died about the same time another man of knightly order and noble birth, but still more illustrious for his faith and the excellence of his character. All his children came to visit him when he was dying, and eagerly implored his blessing, but he would allow none of them to be present with him in his last moments, except those who had constantly and firmly maintained the profession of the Catholic faith. All the others who attended heretic worship and concealed their faith, the pious parent sharply rebuked, and sent them away from his bedside, as unworthy of a father's sight and a father's blessing, if they had departed in the least degree from the faith and religion of their forefathers. A third, also of equestrian order, and of a very noble family, desiring while in health to have the memory of death familiar to his mind, had a coffin hung up at his bedside long before he died. With great spirit he dismissed the ministers of the Calvinist sect, who came in the hope of perverting him when his soul was on the point of leaving his body, telling them that the goods of fortune might be taken from him on account of his faith, but his faith never could. These generous sentiments he had drawn from the author of all grace, Whom he had received sacramentally before, at the hands of one of our Fathers, after making his confession.

There still lives another, a man also of high birth, upon whose mind the sacred exhortations of our Fathers have made such an impression, that he gave to the poor the food prepared for himself and the garments he was accustomed to wear, and used to sleep in a coffin, to bring the salutary thought of death more vividly before his mind. Many other uncommon examples of virtue were exhibited in various places,

wherever our Fathers had the opportunity of travelling, to raise the fallen, bring back wanderers into the right path, and strengthen those who remained constant in faith and virtue.

But, alas! from envy of these our pious efforts Satan impelled one of our number to make a shameful defection and apostasy both from our Society and from the Catholic faith, which occasioned delay and embarrassment to our labours. The name of this apostate, if he is worthy to be named, was Thomas Abernethy.[1] He left the faith and our Society together on account of great crimes which he had committed, and in order to obtain a richer stipend from the heretics with whom he associated himself, he told a number of stories utterly inconsistent with truth, against the Society, the Fathers, and all their friends and supporters.

He told all our names, and all the houses, whether of nobles or common people, which our Fathers were accustomed to frequent, to the ministers, the Royal Council, and the Puritan rulers of the State, thereby exposing us and all our friends to the utmost inconvenience and annoyance. The consequence was that the heretics broke into many of the houses he had named, searching every hole and corner in them, in the hope of making some one of our Fathers a prisoner, convicting the owners of the houses of treason for receiving us under their roofs, that being the law of

[1] Thomas Abernethy entered the Scots College, Rome, in 1624, and left it the same year. He entered the Society of Jesus and was a missionary in Scotland in 1636 and attached to the family of the Marquis of Huntly.

In 1638 he published *Abjuration of Popery. By T. A., sometime Jesuit, but now penitent sinner and an unworthie member of the true reformed church of God in Scotland*, at Edinburgh, 24th August 1638. Edinburgh, 4°. *Cf.* Gordon's *History of Scots Affairs*, Vol. I., pp. 44, 45; Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, Vol. II., 101, Bannatyne Club.

this country, and punishing them by the confiscation of all their property and goods.

I cannot omit to notice the wicked piece of advice which the wretched apostate gave the Council, to proceed with severity against all Catholics of whatsoever degree, because if these were compelled to give up their faith, or, failing that, had to leave the country, the priests, as he asserted, would all go away too of their own accord. This wicked apostate took a wife—I should rather call her a concubine—and has been made a minister of a heretic temple, with a rich stipend, and is now living free and unmolested, filled with the utmost animosity against us and all the Catholic body, to the great scandal and danger of us all; an undoubted prelude and indication of storms and tempests yet to come.

The following year, 1638, saw the commencement of the rebellion of the sectaries in this country. It began with a nefarious conspiracy, which is not even yet entirely extinct, but some sparks of it yet linger among the ashes, likely before long to break out again and spread conflagration through the kingdom. It began in the following way. Charles, the first of that name, whose regal authority is supreme over the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and who unites the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England under the sway of a single monarch, wished also to unite the two nations in their religious belief, in which they differ widely. He determined also to force upon the people of Scotland the liturgy of the Anglican Church, which, though spurious and corrupt, is not greatly opposed to the Catholic faith, as well as the rites, canons, and ceremonies of the English Protestants.

To effect this more easily, he began by conferring

great power and authority upon the Scottish bishops and ministers, bestowing political offices upon some of them, and assigning them large revenues. Then he published a proclamation enjoining that no one was to raise any opposition, or place any difficulty in the way of the introduction of the Anglican liturgy into the Scottish Church, under penalty of incurring the crime of high treason and rebellion. Everything was ready and was carried out according to his views. The liturgy was printed and ready to be published and placed in the hands of all orders of men, when there arose a violent movement among the Puritans, a party of the Calvinists distinguished by their animosity against the Catholic faith. The royal command went down before this movement, the liturgy was trodden under foot, the power of the Protestant bishops and sectarian ministers was thrown in the dust; the Puritans tore up the falsely so-called liturgy, and trampled upon it. The deacons, who attempted to read it in public, were maltreated with clubs and fists, and hustled out of the churches. Then they turned their arms against the State bishops, who were everywhere stoned by the women and boys, and several of them narrowly escaped with their lives. But their wild fury did not stop here, for they rose in insurrection against the King and the great officers of State.

The Council at Edinburgh, the capital city of the kingdom, was compelled, in spite of the remonstrance of the King, to enter into a league and covenant to abrogate the liturgy, which they generally called the Mass, and abolish all the popish rites and ceremonies, as they called them, which had recently been introduced into their church; and they assembled a synod, more truly a conventicle, of ministers, who deprived the

King, hitherto regarded and recognised as head of the Church, and all the State bishops and deans, of all ecclesiastical government, authority, and power. They proceeded to excommunicate all the Calvinist bishops and all their supporters, and declared them proscribed, exiled, and banished from the kingdom for ever.

They also assembled an army of twenty thousand soldiers, attacked the King and his armed forces, and finally invaded England, where they laid waste the country and remained for twelve months. They compelled the King, however much against his will, to confirm the nefarious compact they had entered into against himself, to render obsolete the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as they are called, and publish new and unheard-of enactments of the Parliament against the Catholics, and lastly, to give his sanction and approval to all the atrocities they had perpetrated during the continuance of the revolt.

The principal men in the kingdom were assembled in a Parliament, at which the King was present in person, and in which it was ordained that the State bishops should be deprived of all ecclesiastical authority, and their places taken by some of the great men of the country, and others chosen from among the representatives of the commons, to be present in the national synods, under the ruling elders, and arrange everything touching their belief, or rather disbelief, with authority equal to that of the ministers themselves. The same Parliament confirmed the wicked and impious conspiracy, which they called the Covenant,[1] but was

[1] " . . . The Covenant of England and Scotland is a league made between the English Parliament and the Scottish Council, by which they oblige themselves generally and individually to exterminate all Papists without respect of person. The Scottish Churches and the Council have decided

really an abjuration of the faith, and enacted that every man, of every order and degree, without excepting anyone, not even Catholics, should put their hands to it.

All laws passed against the orthodox were now renewed with the following additions :—

1. All Catholics, and all persons excommunicated by the ministers, are to be deprived of two-thirds of their possessions, one moiety of this going to the presbytery, or synod of the ministers of the district in which the Catholic resides ; the other being assigned in perpetuity to the King's Treasury. The King further forfeits, by the enactment of this Parliament, the power of restoring these revenues to the Catholics in the future. The remaining third part of their goods the Catholics are to carry with them out of the country, to live in perpetual exile among foreign nations, under the condition that if they are in debt, they are to expend this third part of their possessions in discharging their debts.

2. Moreover, that such Catholics, nay rather schismatics, as will consent to attend the heretic temples and preaching for the sake of preserving their property, but whose consciences will not permit them to join in communion with the heretics, are to pay every year a money fine in gold, nobles and chiefs £1000, knights and gentlemen £500, citizens and traders £100. And lest any one should be unmolested, it is cruelly and wickedly enacted that domestic servants, male and

that no Catholic will be able to serve in France. By their league they take Oath before the clergyman to exterminate all Catholics without distinction. The Irvine Regiment has lately been named Regiment of Guards. It remains to be considered how far, in view of these two articles, one may trust the person of his Majesty into the hands of these gentlemen."—*Memoirs of Montreuil*, vol. II., p. 551, *Historical Society of Scotland.*

female, are to be made to pay the whole amount of their wages annually.

3. It is further enacted that no one whatever is to make images or pictures of Christ or the Saints, and that all such images existing in public places are to be thrown down and destroyed. This law was passed by these new iconoclasts, although during this very year, you will perhaps be surprised to hear, the picture of their own arch-minister was sold in Edinburgh and London for fifty gold pieces. It was also decreed in the national synod of the ministers that a document drawn up by some learned Catholics, who stated in writing their reasons for rejecting the Calvinist creed, and adhering to the Catholic faith, should receive no answer whatever, but that the ministers should proceed against them by ecclesiastical censure, at the earliest opportunity.

It is scarcely possible to believe the fraud and trickery they make use of in perverting Catholics. They offer the richer men freedom and immunity on condition of going to hear a sermon in their temples once a year; and if any one of them is induced by this groundless hope to make an appearance, he is immediately visited with an anathema, and denounced as a person of bad faith, who attends their meetings under false pretences and solely with a view of preventing the loss and destruction of his property, which he would otherwise incur. They will not administer the sacrament of baptism to the children of orthodox parents, nor allow our priests to do so; and if any child is bathed with the water of salvation by one of us, the parents, the nurse, and the infant itself are all compelled to go away out of the parish. In this way, on more than one occasion, they have compelled a nurse who

was a heretic to leave for fear of anathema, and brought the child, thus left destitute of nourishment, in imminent danger of its life. Sometimes they have driven an infant with its parents from parish to parish, ultimately compelling them to leave the country and go into exile.

Not only do they not spare childhood, but they are equally merciless to old age. They send armed men into the houses of the Catholics, who with drawn swords and pistols pointed at the heads of aged men, from whom death is in any case not far distant, threaten them with instant assassination, unless they will leave everything in their houses at their mercy, and promise to frequent their worship. As an instance of their unsparing temper, to every age and sex, every order and degree, in this year they compelled the illustrious Lady the Marchioness of Huntly, who is related by blood to the Royal line of Scotland, and is nearly seventy years of age, to leave her country and go into exile, for no other reason than that she refused to take an oath that she would never admit any priests, especially of our Society, into her house, and dismiss immediately all her domestics, both men and women, who professed the Catholic religion, and go herself frequently during the year to the temples and sermons of the heretics.

Having crossed the frontier to Berwick in England she was immediately waited on by the mayor of the town, who tendered to her and all her servants, in the name of the Parliament, what they call the oath of supremacy, adding besides that she must bind herself by oath to attend Protestant worship, or else go to prison, or leave the town at once. She asked for a month's delay, or at least a week, an account of the severity of the weather in winter, and her own feeble state of health,

and with difficulty obtained leave to remain a very few days. She then left the town and passed the remainder of the winter in a miserable inn, and when spring came went over to France.[1]

I do not think that any one will have any difficulty in understanding from this story, the losses, sufferings, and injuries which poorer and destitute Catholics must have had to endure at the hands of these heretics and their ministers. On a simple refusal to attend their churches, they turn them out of their houses, ruthlessly insisting that no one else is to receive them under his roof, or let houses to them, and this cruel and inhuman treatment not infrequently reduces them to absolute beggary and want. During the whole duration of the ascendency of the Covenant—that is, for the last four years or more, the Catholics have borne the fury of the storm of persecution, and during this time the greater number of them have been ejected from their houses or sent to prison, and their property dispersed or lost.

Some of them have gone into banishment to England or Ireland, and not a few to Belgium or France. Of those who followed the King's party, some have lost almost everything they had, most of them three or four years' income. Whenever any Catholic, more courageous than his fellows, refused to send a soldier to serve with the armies of the Covenanters, or

[1] Henrietta Stewart, eldest daughter of Esmé, Duke of Lennox, accompanied her husband in his last journey to the North, until his death on the 15th of June 1636, at Dundee. In June 1641, according to Spalding, the Marchioness was compelled to banish herself from Scotland for her religion and go into exile at the age of 70 years. Thus resolutely, she settled her estates and left with a woeful heart her stately mansion. According to Wood, she died in France, 2nd September 1642, and was buried at Lyons.—(Wood, pp. 649, 650.)

to go to church, they would send forty or fifty Covenanting soldiers into his house, whom he had to feed and supply with everything they required, and often was very ill-treated by them, his cattle being driven away, and his furniture removed by stealth. In some cases the soldiers laid hands on the charters, or parchment deeds, on which they rely to prove their title to their estates and other possessions, and refused to restore them, or to leave the house, before the lord and his servants had subscribed to their impious Covenant, and taken an oath to attend the preaching in their church.

By this wicked cruelty they induced several to make a shameful defection from the faith. Some of the nobles who were on the King's side, and on that account offered resistance to the Covenanters, were taken by stratagem and thrown into prison, where more than one of them died, and as we hope, passed from their bonds to an eternal crown and freedom. Among these prisoners was the sister of one of our Fathers, who on account of her constancy in the faith was torn away from her husband, though he was a Calvinist, with two little children, one at the breast, the other three years old, and all three were thrown into prison, where she remained for several months, until her husband promised that she should either leave the country or consent to attend the Calvinist congregations.

The detestation of these people against the Catholics is now so insane and so far-reaching that it extends to the dead as well as to the living. A knight and baron, an exceptionally earnest Catholic, who has lived with his whole family for many years in France in banishment on account of his faith, was taken and put in prison by the Covenanters, because he took the King's part and refused to subscribe to the

impious Covenant. He was nearly eighty years of age, and his imprisonment brought on a mortal disease, of which he died in prison, fortified with all the sacraments of the Church. These were administered to him by one of our Fathers, who risked his life in the service of a man who had deserved so well of the faith, and of our Society, and who was now approaching the end of his days. He died, and was being carried out to burial, when—O unheard of barbarity, even among Calvinists! —all who met the dead body, enclosed in its coffin, actually pelted it with stones and mud and heaped filth upon it, and loaded the dead man and all the papists, as they call the Catholics, with reproaches, uttering the most horrible imprecations. It is thus that the Calvinists are taught by their ministers to pray for the dead.

Catholics are deprived of all public rights at law, and cannot safely demand payment of debts due to them from heretics. A very honourable and religious lady who sought repayment of a sum of money she had lent to a neighbour, was placed in peril of her life and reputation. The other woman rose and denounced her as a papist and a harlot. All the people in the neighbourhood, of both sexes, immediately assembled, fell upon the Catholic woman, dragged her about, tore away the cross and reliquary she wore round her neck, loaded her with abusive language, freely beat her with their fists, and finally, summoning the officers of the law, they committed her to prison. In this way heretics can extricate themselves from debt without much labour or difficulty. These and many other annoyances which Catholics are compelled to undergo have driven a considerable number to defection from their faith, and occasioned no little embarrassment to the pious efforts and labours of our Fathers.

The troubles and inconveniences, which we have ourselves had to suffer day and night during the four years continuance of this rebellion, could not easily be told. The soldiers of the Covenanters were often sent to search the houses of Catholics where our Fathers were lying concealed, and if the master of the house took flight to secure his own safety, the Fathers were then compelled to leave, and seek a refuge in a public inn, or the dwelling of a heretic. Sometimes they were obliged, in the middle of the night and in the depth of winter, to leave their refuge and wander, track or no track, ignorant of the locality and of the road, amid the frost and whirling snow, in the hope of reaching the shelter of a Catholic roof during the night. If successful in this attempt, they were shut up in some narrow chamber, shivering in the frost, without light or candles, lest their presence should be betrayed to the magistrates, or become known to the servants of the household, or other heretics about the place.

Even then there was no safety, either for the people of the house or themselves, on account of the severe penalties which the laws of the country inflict upon all who receive members of our Society into their houses, and at the advice of their Catholic friends they were often obliged to leave before nightfall and spend the night in the woods and mountains or among the standing corn. Some of our Fathers were betrayed by false brethren, and the houses in which they were concealed searched through and through by armed soldiers, and others pursued by horsemen in coats of mail, but no one has up to the present time been made a prisoner. All have so far, by the power of God, escaped the hands of their heretic pursuers, and in the midst of all these perils and dangers have laboured well

and carefully in the exhortation of the faithful, not a few of whom have in consequence braved the fiercest storms of persecution without being engulfed in them.

The sacraments have been diligently administered by the Fathers, not without peril of their lives, both to the sick and to those in health, and they have often travelled many miles for the sake of this spiritual aid for themselves and others. Some have also been induced, by the good offices of our Fathers, to abandon long standing feuds and quarrels, and return to concord among themselves. Some have been moved so far by our exhortations that noble matrons have been known to supply food or medicine to their servants or the poor, when sick, with their own hands and on bended knees, a thing very unusual in this heretic country, making shrouds to wrap the bodies of the poor when dead, and discharging other offices of charity which persons of humble rank are accustomed to perform, both to the sick and to the whole, and this with great joy and gladness of heart.

Two ministers of the Calvinist sect have been converted and led to embrace the Catholic faith. One of these was a Professor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, who yielded to conviction in consequence partly of the worldly and inconsistent language used by his own party in their corruption of the faith. He was accustomed always to follow the guidance of reason, and never do anything plainly offensive to the divine Majesty. One of our Fathers advised him to leave the country during the present unsettled times, and retiring from the forefront of the controversy take refuge from the waves of persecution on some Catholic shore. He preferred waiting and deferring his journey, in order to try his courage by enduring with constancy the greater

persecutions which seem likely to follow. Shortly afterwards, being interrogated by the ministers as to his belief, he frankly and publicly avowed himself a Catholic, and was forthwith sent by them into banishment.

The other was a Calvinist preacher in the army of the Covenanters which was sent into England, where he accidentally fell in with some Catholics, who persuaded him to embrace their faith. He afterwards endured much obloquy and insult from the heretic soldiers, which he bore with patience and piety.

These are the principal heads of the events which have happened here, and an estimate may be formed from them of the severity of the troubles and difficulties which our Society has had to contend with in this country, the bitter and atrocious character of the persecution which is carried on against the Catholics, and the deplorable condition of the country.[1]

Father James Macbreck *to* Father General.[2] (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

From Scotland, 13*th June*, the holy Feast of Pentecost, 1641.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,
Pax Christi.

I do not know whether your Paternity ever received a letter I wrote last December, with full particulars of the state of this distracted

[1] No signature and no endorsement.

[2] Father James Macbreck, belonging to a good Scottish family, was sent into Scotland after his education and ordination, and his reception into the Society, in the year 1615. He was placed as chaplain in the house

Church. Since then things have become more and more confused and imperilled every day. The enemy are mad with fury, in full strength, and able to do just what they please. They are resolved to stamp out the last sparks of true religion, and leave neither name nor trace of Catholic in any part of this accursed land. Their devilish Covenant, renewed three years ago, is offered to all without exception, and those who refuse it are set down as enemies of their country, and of the godless heresy which they call the Reformed religion, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour. They are put in prison and their goods escheated; unless they fly the country, leaving home, family, and children behind them. But there are too many—alas!—who have not before their eyes the words of Christ, "Whoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father," and "What doth it profit?"

of the Earl of Wintoun, and about twelve years later was obliged to take refuge in England, but soon returned in order to strengthen the declining cause of religion. In 1640, he writes: "There is no one on our side but the good Jesus; yet if He be for us, what matter who is against us. The only concern I have had during nearly the last two years, is that I remain alone in this southern part of the kingdom, and I have no one whose help I can procure for the good of my soul. Every hour I expect either to be arrested or compelled to quit the country." During the next year he again wrote: "As long as I am able to stay, I have decided, with the assistance of God to remain, whilst I have a place where to lay my head, though my lot must be one of extreme misery, as well as of constant anxiety and peril. God grant I may save even one soul from shipwreck; oh! how I wish that I might die for the sake of Jesus." Though during seven years this good Father was Superior of the Scottish Mission, he could scarcely hold any intercourse with his brethren or receive any information from them. In August 1653 he was a close prisoner in Edinburgh gaol for almost ten months. The Government consented to his release if he would take an oath to go into perpetual banishment, but Father Macbreck's answer was that he would "rather rot in gaol first." He was, therefore, discharged on proclamation, upon the 14th of November of the same year. He reached Douay on the 6th of March 1654, and there we unfortunately lose all trace of him. *Cf.* Oliver, and Fr. M'Leod's *Menology*.

In all the years I have been working in this barren and troubled vineyard of the Lord, I have scarcely had two or three of tolerable quiet. From one side or another, persecution was sure to come; but neither I nor any other Catholic have, since the first overthrow of the Catholic faith in this country, ever before experienced a trial so universal and terrible as this. I am now the only one of us left in the south of Scotland; God only knows how long I shall be able to remain. I am determined to stay as long as I can find a corner wherein to lay my head; though I may have to live in extreme misery, in perpetual danger, and continual fear. God grant I may be the means of saving one single soul from the shipwreck! may the good Jesus deign to show me what I have to suffer for His Name, and would that for Him I might be allowed to die. Your Paternity will excuse my not writing oftener in these troubled times. We can neither write nor send letters safely; hardly any one will take them, for fear of discovery. While I write, I have to escape this very night, and am in such straits that I scarcely know where to go. I fear we shall all have occasion to say with Jeremias li. 9: "We would have cured Babylon, but she is not healed; let us forsake her, because her judgment hath reached even to the heavens, and is lifted up to the clouds." I am obliged to send this through Germany, to a friend of our Society at Olmütz. I write by stealth, surrounded by dangers. I commend myself and all this afflicted Mission to your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most unworthy son and servant in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

Father James Macbreck *to* Father General.

From Scotland, *5th July* 1642.

Very Reverend Father,
Pax Christi.

I wrote to your Paternity twice, at the end of last year and the beginning of this, and I have not received a reply to any of my letters for two years past. The difficulty is extremely great of either sending letters or receiving them, in these times of disorder. So far from showing any signs of abatement, the persecution grows more severe every day. The heretic ministers hold a General Assembly every year, under royal authority; and this assembly is invested by Parliament with powers immediately to put in force any resolutions they frame for the complete extirpation of the Catholic religion.

They have been very busy during this year and last, in the destruction of the remaining monuments of ancient piety, with a special intolerance against images, crucifixes, and statues of the Blessed Virgin. Down to the present year there was standing at a place called Inverkeithing in Fife, in the middle of the market, a very beautiful carved stone cross. The ministers hired a mason, who set a ladder up against the cross, and ascended it, for the purpose of breaking to pieces the image of Christ, which was carved upon it. The man had placed the ladder and gone up to the top, and was preparing to strike, when suddenly he turned and came down, pretending he wanted a tool, quietly absconded, and ran away. Meeting an acquaintance on the road outside the town, he confessed frankly that he

had seen the Divine Majesty impressed with such splendour on the face of the Christ, that he dared not, and could not, venture to raise hammer or hand against it.

This man was a heretic, and his story is corroborated by the sad fate which overtook another mason, who actually did destroy the very same cross. He had scarcely come down from his ladder, when he was seized with paralysis in all his limbs, and remains to this day a prisoner to his bed, quite unable to move—a visible evidence of Divine power. But these examples, and others like them, do not make them any better or any gentler; their hearts seem hardened within them.

A general assembly of the ministers is fixed for the 25th of this month, at St Andrews in Fife; after which they mean to search the whole kingdom through for sacred furniture, rosaries, Catholic books of piety and other things of the sort. They have resolved to carry out the persecution to the last extremity, and not leave a single Catholic in the kingdom who refuses to comply with their orders. May God of His infinite mercy bring their designs to naught; and may the good Jesus save the souls He has redeemed with His most precious blood, give His servants courage to bear all things for His glory, and me the grace to lay down my life for it. I write hurriedly and secretly; I hope my letter may some day reach your hands. I commend myself and all the most afflicted British Church, very earnestly to your most Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Your most unworthy servant and son in Christ,

James Macbreck.

Father James Macbreck *to* Father General. (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

1*st April* 1643.

Very Reverend Father,
Pax Christi.

I received about the end of last year your Reverence's letter of 30th November 1641, containing an answer to two of mine. I do not know whether you ever received those which I wrote last July and August. We never experienced greater difficulty in sending and receiving letters than we do now. In those two letters I described fully the condition of this afflicted Church, and sent a copy of the parliamentary decree against the Catholics, then just printed. This decree is now being put in force with great rigour, and Catholics are everywhere in extreme distress. Since then, and quite recently, Parliament has ordered that all the property of persons who have incurred the greater anathema of their Church for religion only, shall be sold and confiscated to the Treasury. If any nobleman has Catholic servants in his house, he is to be compelled to dismiss them. Catholics are also required to send their sons to the heretic schools; and these and many other similar orders are now being put in execution. Our Fathers are very few in number, and are making every exertion, and exposing themselves to most evident peril, to hold their ground if possible; but they can hardly remain three days in any one place, so diligent is the search made for them. I trust that God of His infinite mercy will open to us a way of peace, to which the Holy

Sacrifices and prayers of your Reverence will, I hope, greatly contribute, and to these I commend myself and this distressed vineyard of our Lord.

Your most unworthy servant and son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

FATHER JOHN SMITH *to* FATHER GENERAL, (*Stonyhurst* MSS.).[1]

9th July 1643.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Having at length obtained an opportunity of writing to you, for which I have long waited, I proceed to discharge this duty. Everything is as bad as it could possibly be, as regards our circumstances and those of our friends, except one thing—that the grace of our most loving God supplies us with daily occasions of suffering. Our adversaries grow more cruel in their treatment of us every day, and are now sending out secret commissions charged to apprehend and imprison us. Our friends are making their escape in all directions, so that the supplies we occasionally received for our subsistence are in great measure being withdrawn, and unless we receive assistance from your Reverence and your friends, we also must run away—which God forbid—and desert our post without much longer delay. The poor will perish for want of spiritual food, and worst of all, our lamp, or rather the spark of Catholic religion flickering here, will be extinguished. It is to your Reverence,

[1] Father Smith was stationed at Aberdeen.

therefore, as our common parent and most faithful friend, that we have recourse, and now humbly supplicate you, as soon as God shall enable you, by your wisdom and foresight, to make some provision for these difficulties, and get assistance for us from others who are better provided than we are, lest we should be compelled to quit our mission from absolute destitution. We leave it to your judgment and consideration. Farewell.

Your most obedient,

JOHN SMITH.

FATHER JAMES MACBRECK *to* FATHER GENERAL,
(*Stonyhurst* MSS.).

From SCOTLAND, 1*st February* 1644.

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

I am afraid my last letter, written in October, may have been a long time in reaching the hands of your Reverence, the vessels having been detained longer than usual in harbour. I have received none from you since that written on the 25th of April. God knows to what straits I was reduced at the end of last year, on Christmas Eve. I was, so to speak, torn from the society of my friends at that sacred season, and knew not whither to escape or where to find concealment. Such a storm of persecution is now abroad in this country as was never known before. I make no account of the straits and miseries to which I myself am reduced, being as I am the only one of us left in this part of the kingdom, or indeed in the

kingdom at all: I wish I may have the happiness to suffer the last extremities for the name of Jesus.

But I pity especially the fate of the Catholics, and of the souls purchased by the precious blood of Jesus. They are reduced day after day to greater and greater misery, and have nowhere to take refuge. They are not allowed to cross the seas and go abroad, or if they get permission to do so, they lose all their goods and revenues, which could afford them means of support in foreign countries; while they are not allowed to live in their native land, save at the cost of surrendering their faith and losing their souls. May the good Jesus, of His infinite mercy, find some remedy for these evils! Would that peace and unity would arise among the Catholic princes! for in that case our adversaries would surely not thus triumph over and insult the professors of the orthodox faith. Or if the heretics in Catholic kingdoms were reduced to the same straits as Catholics are here, perhaps the heretics in this country would not treat their Catholic fellow-countrymen with such extreme rigour and cruelty.

Often, when witnessing the extremity of misery existing here, I have meditated abandoning the ship and forsaking my country; but again the care and love of souls kept me back, remembering what happens to the sheep when the shepherd runs away, and that a good shepherd gives his life for the flock. Trusting, therefore, in the help of the good Jesus, I am determined to risk mine, in these calamitous and most troubled times, in which there are many to be found who have not bent the knee to Baal. Indeed, God renders very many all the more constant every day in the midst of persecution. I implore this grace of final perseverance for all this distracted vineyard of our Lord, for all our

Fathers, and for myself, through your most holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your most unworthy servant and
son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

FATHER THOMAS ROB *to* FATHER GENERAL.
(*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

DOUAY, *9th March* 1644.

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

About three months ago Thomas Collinson arrived without notice, but with a commendatory letter from Father Robert Gall, and on the strength of this letter, and his own promises and entreaties, obtained admission among the scholars on the foundation. But his untractable disposition and impatience of control made him change his mind, and fearing that longer delay might make matters worse, I gave him notice on the 5th of this month that he would have to leave, and have to-day amicably dismissed him. I hope it will be for God's greater glory, and the good of the Seminary. With regard to other matters, we have, thank God, ground for great hope. All the students except two, who are not very clever, are making excellent progress in both pursuits—adorning their letters with virtue and their virtue with letters; and those two make up for their deficiency in literary knowledge by their zeal in the cultivation of Christian virtue.

On the 3rd of this month, by a marvellous inspiration of the Holy Spirit, three youths of great promise

and well grounded in humanities, arrived from Scotland. They are being instructed in the faith, and are preparing for confession on Sunday. They are all about the same age—fifteen or sixteen years old.[1] Two are well born, of the family of Forbes, the third the son of a respectable man of business; the parents of all are heretics, and are not aware of the step their sons have taken. Our means are anything but abundant, but still I cannot send away these youths, whom our Lord and God has chosen out of the mass of their countrymen, until I see what provision can be collected from any quarter for their support, or at any rate to enable them to travel, if it is necessary to send them elsewhere. I am begging accordingly from Father Hugh [Semple] and Colonel Leslie. Father Seton left us directly after Easter, so that his place and Collinson's will provide for two of them, and there is only the third to arrange for, and this I have committed to God.

The Reverend Father John Robertson, banished from Scotland, arrived here on the 5th, having spent eleven months in prison.[2] He brought with him a young nephew for the Seminary, but I sent the latter on to Braunsberg, according to your Reverence's directions in such cases, having no room for him. The good

[1] 10 Mar. 1644. *Joannes Forbesius*, 17 annorum, ex parentibus D^{o} Duncano Forbesio de Campbell et D^{na} Elizabetha Forbesia de Cors, hæreticis . . . Obtinuit dimissionem 1648 in Scotiam, ibi fidem deseruit. Est jam, 1671, . . . prædicator capitalis, permanetque singularis Catholicorum amicus.

25 Mar. *Jacobus Forbesius*, 14 annum agens, ex parentibus Joanne Forbesio de Corsinday et Margareta Fraser de Dores . . . professione fidei editâ, in seminarium receptus 25 Martii 1644. Societatem ingressus est 1649. Factus est missionis Superior anno 1673.—(*Records of the Scots Colleges*, vol. i., p. 36, New Spalding Club, 1905.)

[2] On the 18th April 1643, the young Laird of Birkenbog seized Father Robertson in the house of Forbes of Blacktoun.—Chambers, *op. cit.*, and Bishop Geddes's MS. Memoirs.

religious gave us much consolation, and confirmed what we had often heard from other sources (especially from students recently arrived), that the Scots were never more strongly inclined to the Catholic faith than at the present moment, and especially the more learned among them, and the doctors and masters of art at the universities. There would soon not be one remaining, if they had any place within reach where they could be educated as Catholics. Father John Smith has lately converted the Baron of Pitfodels, chief of the family of Menzies, and the Baron, who was coming over to France, ostensibly for the benefit of his health, would not trust himself to the sea till he was well fortified with the sacraments. This matter is kept secret at present, for certain good reasons.

Meanwhile, Father Robertson has complained greatly that there was not a single priest in Scotland besides our Fathers, and strongly urged Father Seton to proceed thither. He declares the harvest to be so great, that there would be more than enough for twenty of us to do. But he added that it would be absolutely necessary to supply them from abroad with funds for their support, for no one ventures to entertain a priest, and they have to be continually on the move; and indeed the Catholics are so impoverished by the exactions of the Government that they are unable to supply priests with even the necessaries of life. I could not help thinking that Father Lindsay the Capuchin, and Father Pirie the Franciscan, must be in Scotland, but Father Robertson could tell me nothing about them.

I asked your Reverence for permission to reprint the tract of Father Joseph Augustine of Palermo, *De Doctrina Confessariorum*, from the last edition, but having received no reply, I think it possible my letter

may have been intercepted on the road. I desire to know your wishes on this point. For the rest, I humbly commend myself to your most holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your most humble servant and son in Christ,

THOMAS ROB.

FATHER JAMES MACBRECK *to* FATHER GENERAL, (*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

From SCOTLAND, *3rd April* 1644.

I wrote last on the 1st of February, but have received no reply either to that letter or to any of those which I wrote last year, so that I cannot help doubting whether in these times of extreme disorder my letters ever reached your Reverence's hands. Good God, to what times have we arrived! We can say most appropriately with the apostle: "We would not have you ignorant, brethren, of the trouble that has come upon us (to him in Asia; now in Scotland to all Catholics)—that we are oppressed beyond all measure, and beyond our strength, so that we are weary of our very lives." It is wonderful to what miseries and sufferings Catholics are every day reduced by the malice of the ministers, to induce them to make a public abjuration of the orthodox Catholic faith and to profess Calvinism, the heresy which has stirred up so much fury and hatred in these islands for so many years past.

The ministers have two principal inducements in urging on this persecution: one, that recusant Catholics, with their wives and children, may be deprived of all

their property, and so perish; the other, that such as consent and take the oath may suffer still severer torment both of mind and body. On the one hand, these sentences of proscription and exclusion from the courts of law, which are passed by the ministers, even when they have justice on their side, have the effect of striking terror into many hearts, and the entreaties of wives, children, and friends, who fear they may fall into the last extremity of want, are active in urging them to avoid this inconvenience, to which is to be added the example and persuasion of timorous or tepid Catholics, who want to have them as fellow-sufferers in their misery, and therefore join in urging them to subscribe the Calvinist creed. On the other hand, the truth of the Catholic religion and the grace of God keep a large number constant in their faith.

So great and so incredible is the malice of the ministers in this country, that they delight in wringing a perjured assent from reluctant Catholics, which their hearts recoil against, that they may suffer more deeply both in body and in mind. It is much as if they were to conclude a treaty of peace with an enemy, and then choosing an opportunity threaten him with death unless he will renounce his hope in Christ, his baptism, and his faith, and give himself up body and soul to the evil spirit. The wretched man consents, to save his life; then the enemy, exclaiming, "Now will I be avenged on body and soul at once," plunges the sword into his breast and kills him. This is exactly the course our ministers are taking now; and these are the glorious triumphs of their religion, this is their charity for Catholics, this their zeal for winning souls to Christ.

No advantage whatever has been gained by all

this oppression of the Catholics; the King is not better obeyed; only hatred and odium are the result. The sole object of all this cruelty is the ruin of the Catholics, which is pursued all the more earnestly because they still remain loyal to the King. I am perfectly certain that no one, who is not given over to a reprobate mind, can fail to see, and see with grief, what a flame, or rather conflagration of discord the Puritans have introduced into every part of this island. Any one who has the smallest common sense must perceive that the universal misery which has invaded these islands, and the awful ruin of men's souls and bodies, which the craft and falsehood of the ministers and the Puritans have brought upon it, have now gone so far that there is no power strong enough to provide a remedy, short of that of Almighty God, who has delivered, and still does deliver us from such great danger, and in whom we hope, for He will yet continue to deliver us.

That very Cross of Jesus Christ, which the Puritans are everywhere endeavouring to root out and extirpate, will some day extirpate them altogether: "This hope is laid up in my bosom." I heard some time ago that Father Valens is certainly made prisoner in London. Our Fathers here are in daily peril of being apprehended, so great just now is the rage and fury of our opponents against all Catholics. God of His infinite mercy put an end to these troubles. I earnestly commend myself, and these distracted vineyards of Christ, to your most holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your most unworthy servant and son in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

Annual Letters of the Society of Jesus from Scotland, 1642-1646, *addressed by* FATHER JAMES MACBRECK *to the* VERY REVEREND FATHER FRANCIS PICCOLOMINI, GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. (*Stonyhurst* MSS.)

VERY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

Scotland in her orphaned condition, and amid the tumult of war, now rehearses to your Reverence the great benefits she has received from the labours of your associates on behalf of the Catholic faith, and implores you, most Reverend Father, once more to send them, now that it is believed that a new war is about to be commenced under an old leader, who is a friend of priests, and especially of those of our Society.

A fatal decree was issued in 1641, requiring all priests to leave the kingdom on pain of death, in case they were found out. The King in Parliament was unable to afford his own cousin, the most excellent Marchioness of Huntly, the well-known protectress of the priests and patron of Catholics in the north of Scotland, permission to remain in the country and practise her religion in silence and retirement, though she asked this favour from a numerous assembly of the Lords. It was voted that she must go into exile into foreign lands, and this sentence was promulgated through the medium of the heretic ministers and preachers.

Persons of inferior influence would be easy to assail, easy perhaps to shake in their constancy and resolution, when a woman of her rank, widow of so great a man,

and a member of the family from which the inheritors of the crown were sprung, was forced into banishment; and Catholics could more easily be chastised in the south of Scotland, where they lived under the eyes of the judges and the tribunals, when persons of great dignity and powerful alliances were compelled to quit the comparatively safe retreat of the northern provinces, leave their country's embrace, and go into foreign lands.[1]

I can assure your Reverence that the Fathers have not ceased to labour to the best of their opportunities, although we have no great wonders to record. The greatest wonder of all is that we have done nothing surprising, and have simply discharged our regular routine of duty. Considering the indomitable temper of heresy, especially when heretics are in power, it is only with the utmost difficulty that the priests are able to confer among themselves, keep Catholics firm and resolute, and bring back to a sounder mind such as have been deceived and led astray. In traversing a country of no very great extent we have often had to tread the same roads frequently and again.

In this country noblemen of the highest rank, and those of the middle and lower orders, as well as people of all classes, do not generally reside in towns, but are scattered all over the land, in their own fortified dwellings, or castles, or palaces, or smaller buildings according to the custom of their nation; the Fathers have consequently to be always on the move and make frequent trips to discharge their task of visiting all the flock in turn. It is impossible to remain long in one place, our enemies being always on the search for us, and we must be always ready to

[1] *Cf.* Spalding, *op. cit.*, p. 139. Wood, *Peerage*, p. 649.

start and carry our lives in our hands. Men entered for this race and engaged in this warfare can have no stationary camp, and must play the part of light armed troops every day of their lives. They have to live out of doors days and months together, in order to have a chance of meeting the persons whom they wish to see.

Besides, the country is cut up by innumerable torrents, streams, and rivers, the necessity of crossing which constitutes by far the greatest of our difficulties, added to the nature of the ground and the hostility of our opponents, especially in the rigour of winter, when icy winds, with fast-falling snow and the raging fury of the storm seem to blend sky and earth and sea in a chaos of confusion. Catholics, moreover, are now almost entirely excluded from the towns, except that some few are settled at Aberdeen in the north, and some come to Edinburgh, the capital of the kingdom, for the facility of transacting business.[1]

The danger is greater for us in these cities, especially if it is necessary for us to go thither at the great solemnities of the Nativity, Passion-tide, Easter, and the Ascension of Christ, or at Pentecost, to celebrate the divine mysteries and other duties of pious worship. At these times the magistrates, preachers, and ministers, the church elders, as they call them, the officers in charge of the roads in town and country, and the apparitors and attendants on the provosts and bailies, keep anxious watch in every direction, so that it is extremely difficult for a Catholic congregation to assemble. Moreover, it is made a criminal offence, under laws which have been in force for the last six years, even to name the days of festivals, and to abstain from ordinary daily work or public duties on those days.

[1] Chief among which would be religious duties.

No holiday is given to labourers in the fields, or domestic servants in their attendance, or artificers in the workshops; it is criminal to wear holiday attire, or have the table laid with greater splendour than usual. In this way heresy labours to suppress and abolish the festive piety of older days, and wipe out the remembrance of Christian worship and observance.

It is most wonderful of all that opportunity should have been afforded of sending letters from our prison-house, to signify to your Reverence all that we have been engaged in during the last seven years. These letters were unfortunately lost at sea.

Now to give some account of what we have endeavoured to do. Our comrade has been released from prison, but at the same time he was sentenced to banishment, under penalty of death if he returned to reside in Scotland again. The issue does not depend upon us, whatever our wishes may be. As regards former years; in 1642, from the month of May, there were only four priests of our Society upon the Scottish mission:—Father James Macbreck in the south, Father William Grant, Father John Smith, and Father Andrew Leslie in the north.

All four regarded the orders of the Government with the greatest contempt, as having no force or validity, and weighing the counsels of the eternal mind, placed their confidence in the arm of the Almighty, not in their own strength, and having no human fears, resolved with all the greater courage to remain at their work, and not desert their appointed station, nor leave the fold to the wolves.

The Catholics, unable themselves to quit the country, implored them not to leave them destitute of the help of the Sacraments, the divine Sacrifice, and

ABOYNE CASTLE.

Lady Aboyne was the "Sophia Hay" of the *Ballad of Frendraught*, and her "house was a sort of asylum for Catholics for the celebration of divine worship." (See p. 233.)

From "The Records of Aboyne," with the permission of the New Spalding Club.

their prayers, beseeching the priests to console them by their presence, raise the courage of the timid flock, renew the long-accustomed struggles of the battle-field and the arena, and initiate fresh tactics in the conflict.

We have lost two valuable friends and patronesses. One of these, having been a great supporter of Catholic piety, went into exile in France, and died shortly after her arrival in that country.[1] The other, whose house was a sort of asylum for Catholics for the celebration of divine worship, died in her native land.[2] Both were widows, and while they lived were, by God's grace, as valiant in promoting religion and piety as their sex was by nature weak.

At their death, we heard the voices of the Calvinists raised in triumph. "Who will now extend hospitality to priests? where will they be able to hold their stated assemblies? in what corner of the land will they offer their masses and recite their prayers?" Unhappily this proved as true as it was unfeeling. Our other refuges, in the mysterious judgment of God, daily became more difficult and inhospitable. The loss of the houses of Huntly and Errol deprived the workers in the vineyard of a fortress and protection, and they were now less able to travel in safety. In several other noble families the heirs are dead, or have been violently taken away from their parents to be educated in the poison of heresy, and the number of our friends, patrons, and entertainers is diminished in proportion. A priest of exemplary character and integrity, of the order of Minims, was taken prisoner by the Calvinists, being

[1] The Marchioness of Huntly. She died in France in 1642. *Cf.* vol. II., Appendix I.

[2] Lady Aboyne died 12th March 1642. *Cf.* Father Blackhall's Narrative.

betrayed under the roof of a Catholic by a maid, who had been brought up in the house of one of the heretic preachers. They endeavoured to incite the people who assembled at the neighbouring church on Sunday to kill him, chiefly with a view of frightening the priests and the Catholics.

Priests could always be brought before the judges by any one who would take the trouble, and some one would always be ready to produce the proclamation denouncing banishment against them. It would at once be discovered that they had ventured to remain in the kingdom in defiance to the commands of the law, and they would be condemned without further question. It happened that on the following day, as if such an opportunity of encountering new perils was not to be passed by, one of the Fathers of our Society travelled to the same place where the other priest had been made prisoner, and was nearly falling into the toils of the hunters, only he was warned by a friend and turned aside by another way. He was not safe even then, for when he was under a friendly roof, a traitor, who pretended to be a Catholic, gave information that there was a priest there; but while a number of his envious and malevolent foes were preparing to take him, although ignorant of the danger which threatened him, he left the spot and so eluded the efforts of his enemies. The Fathers upon this concluded that they could not travel in safety by day; for any day they might be encountered by their foes, either openly or by stealth. In consequence, being well acquainted with the country, they arranged a new plan for their expeditions, going in and out of their friends' houses by night, and perpetually finding new hiding places. At the same time they had hopes of fresh accessions to the faith, and

possibly open confession of it, and they decided that their efforts should be continued and renewed.

A maiden of gentle blood desired to be received into the bosom of the Catholic Church. Her father was dead, and her mother, who opposed her pious design, had married again, and the step-father claimed a novel right as to the disposal of his step-daughter.

Her fortune was administered by other trustees, but she knew she would incur the hatred of her relatives, and would be molested with the angry threats of persecutors. There were certain articles of the faith with regard to which she asked for more explicit information, and having assented to them all, she was eager to cleanse her soul in the second baptism of confession, and when her ardour was checked by the priest, declared that she could endure no longer delay.

At once she began to declare herself openly in the society of some girls of her own age, who were to be trusted; she doubled the prescribed days of fasting, was assiduous in prayer, retired as much as she could from the world, read and meditated on holy books as well as was possible in the uncongenial and unquiet atmosphere of her home, and showed remarkable kindness to a poor Catholic woman.

Soon she became a genuine disciple of Christ by suffering. Her mother condemned what she called her overwrought zeal for religion. Her step-father and sister assailed her with reproaches, and her relatives talked of her imprudence, assuring her that a Catholic girl could not claim payment of the income from her fortune.

Her sister, who was under the influence of the Calvinist preachers, and was married to a pleader, claimed the whole, which claim, however, the trustees

were unwilling to admit. But she kept firm to her purpose, in the double strength of religion and maidenly modesty.

Under these circumstances the principal trustee of her family, a man of note among the lawyers and judges, having in court cleverly applauded her wisdom for not being in a hurry to be married, succeeded in preserving her dowry and inheritance for her. This example added fresh courage to the Catholics, and put the heretics to shame, for they saw their threats openly disregarded by so young a recruit, and the rising generation standing out against them with fresh energy and vigour.

There was also a student and doctor of philosophy in the well-known University of Aberdeen,[1] who read the volumes of the most eminent Bellarmine, and the theological writings of Francis Suarez, and found in them, not as the malicious are wont to do, matter of ignorant objection, but piously drew from them the draught of orthodox truth, as it is exhibited in the light of genius by these great writers. What he derived from them he retained, and, growing stronger in his convictions, he refuted his colleagues, and by the force of his arguments overcame, in a public disputation, the new Calvinist Professor of Theology, who upheld dogmas plainly opposed to the evident testimony of the Scriptures.

His power of reasoning and the integrity of his life

[1] This may be Andrew Youngson, born 13th July 1619, who was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Aberdeen in 1645 and 1646. Received into the Catholic Church, in September 1647, he entered the Society of Jesus the same year. He became Professor of Theology at Toledo and Madrid, where he died in 1679.

Under the name of Andreas Junius he published *De Providentia et Prædestinatione Meditationes Scholasticæ*:—Cf. *Records of the Scots Colleges*, vol. I., p. 196.

gave the utmost offence to the heretics, and they summoned him before their tribunal, demanding an account of what he believed, at the same time upbraiding him as a deserter from their cause. He determined upon this to consult one of the Fathers of our Society, as to the mode and time they would recommend for his making profession of the faith.

Great excitement and interest prevailed on both sides, the preachers denouncing with violent threats this fresh instance of insubordination, the Catholics ascribing to divine grace the fortitude and constancy of the new recruit. The day named was one on which the preachers held a numerously attended assembly in the town. They began by asking him to say which Church, such is the phrase they use, he had decided to adhere to. He declared that he adhered to the Church of Rome, a declaration which surprised them into silence. He called his audience to witness that the reasons and arguments he advanced were neither refuted nor impugned, either by the chief of the Calvinist theologians or by the Assembly, and deduced in conclusion the empty worthlessness of heresy and the solacing consistency of Catholic piety. He demanded to have the fact recorded and attested in the presence of two competent notaries whom he had brought for the purpose, and withdrew. The preachers, always disposed to anger and fury, were more furious at this than ever.

A man crowned with the laurel of a master's degree, remarkable for many years previous by his dignity and wisdom in the college, as a teacher far superior to his contemporaries by the fame of his learning, had all at once turned out a papist. It was a piece of audacity which must not be endured. Without delay they

passed judgment upon him, declaring him excommunicated and anathematised, a criminal, a renegade, and a deceiver, and ordered him to be apprehended, thrown into prison, and put to death without mercy. He went into concealment for a time, but the townspeople were on his side, and his colleagues and the masters in philosophy expressed their approval of the course he had taken, though they did not imitate it, while the students eagerly discussed the matter among themselves.

As soon as he was able to put to sea, he left the country, eagerly anxious to advance in learning and in virtue. Shortly after his departure a number of young men, urged by his example, determined to go and seek the truth of Christian faith in the discipline of the schools in foreign lands, and are so engaged at this moment.[1]

A man of high rank and large fortune has also made a public confession of faith at Edinburgh, before the General Assembly of the preachers, which is held annually, and is attended by the principal men of the country from all the provinces. He had long been urged to abandon his faith, and in reply to these arguments he some time ago presented to them a paper drawn up by one of the Fathers of the Society, containing the principal articles of belief, which he supported so forcibly that they were unable to reply to any purpose, on which he declared that he could not come into their opinion, but would remain in that Church which could never fail or perish. He com-

[1] One of them was John Walker, possibly the author of *The Presbytery's Trial*, Paris, 1657. He became a Catholic in Portugal, while living in that country in the capacity of Secretary to Lord Lindsay. He entered the Scots College at Rome in 1643.

pletely refuted them by his eloquence and his arguments, to the great credit of the Catholic religion, and exposure of the worthlessness and contemptible character of heresy. Not being able to convert him, they cruelly tried to ruin him, by taking away his goods and possessions; and in order to deprive him of the opportunity of defence, pronounced against him the Calvinist anathema and sentence of excommunication, as a criminal and enemy of his country.

He was not going to cast away, from love of the perishing advantages of this world, the truth which he had openly professed with his lips, and whatever else he lost, he kept his firmness and courage. Our Fathers were not, therefore, without consolation in the firmness and constancy of these and many more, and their eagerness for work increased accordingly.

The fury of the preachers did not abate, and being unable to preach by argument, they attempted to shake the resolution of the orthodox by a military demonstration. The north of Scotland was commanded by a man of rank, who was a colonel, and a man of good disposition and refinement, who without difficulty kept that portion of the country in peace with a single regiment, there being no resistance to his authority. He maintained the cause of the Covenanters, and collected the revenue for them. A preacher, actuated by long-standing hatred of the Catholics, contrived to send an officer with a considerable band of armed men round to their houses, the motive of the soldiers being in the first instance rather the hope of spoil than any direct authorisation from the commander. The preacher went into the house of a Catholic gentleman and made a long and pompous harangue, boasted of the military power at his disposal, and said that as he was going to the war in

Ireland he required some contribution towards the expenses of the expedition. He did not want any large sum of money, but a horse that could trot, properly equipped with saddle and bridle.

The Catholic received the man very kindly, and his wife was most good-natured and laughingly talked with the soldiers, and gave them refreshment, as they were very hungry and thirsty after their journey, setting food and drink before them, all well prepared and neatly served. The officer in command of the detachment having dined well, and being now in good temper, the husband and wife proceeded to set before them the justice of their case. Neither reason nor law imposed upon them the obligation of giving that which they did not possess, and could not be found anywhere about the place, solely at the will and command of their enemies, and because they chose to worship God after having for many years suffered great oppression and frequent plunder of their property.

The officer began to perceive the iniquity and injustice of the preacher's proceeding, and hinted that it was all his doing. He showed the letter he had received, summoning them to give their assistance in this outrage, in which the names of Catholics were especially inserted, and did not stop here, for he went on to declare that the Catholics were distinguished by honesty, piety, and liberality, observant of the obligations of religion, and conspicuous for their fear of God. The preacher began to repent of his design when he found that his opponents were civilly and respectfully treated by the soldiers. He therefore asked for a little money to pay his expenses on the road, and the soldiers went away, expressing their indignation at the craft and malice of the man who had induced them thus to assail

the innocent, and greatly extolling the liberality of their entertainers.

Another Calvinist preacher made an attempt to bring a Catholic priest and his entertainer into peril of their lives, the opportunity of doing so being not premeditated but accidentally offered him. The Father was residing in the fortified house of a young man of noble birth and excellent character, and was considered to be quite safe from secret contrivances or open violence; when one day the porter introduced a preacher, with a gentleman of the neighbourhood on a visit, into the apartment occupied by the priest and his host, neither of whom had any expectation of any such proceeding. The preacher carefully observed the priest, whom he had not seen before, and took note of his appearance and look, and without delay brought a charge against him before the colonel, whom I have already referred to as being in command of that part of the country, to whom he related all the circumstances, showing that the priest had been discovered hid in the castle of a young nobleman, and living under his protection in the confidence of friendship.

This young gentleman was a relative of the colonel, so that the enquiry was conducted in familiar privacy. The colonel pointed out to the youth, with great affection and kindness and every disposition to assist him, that he was putting his wife into danger, and showed him the proclamation of the Government, and the law forbidding the admission of a priest into any house; adding that he did not believe his young relative would in this way risk ruin of his family and loss to his wife. But the young gentleman met this accusation with great caution and prudence, and proved in the presence of the

preacher that what he said was false, though greatly resembling the truth.

There were three brothers, all well-known priests, who had lived in Scotland, but two of them were dead, and the third had gone abroad, while still young. This was well known to men of rank and authority, and was in everyone's mouth.[1]

The whole of the charge against the priest therefore assumed the character of a stage play or dream, and everyone believed that the preacher, who was a notorious scoundrel, had made up this story, as he had many others. Thus God averted the peril, and showed the danger that may exist in the midst of security, only to lead us to rest upon Him with greater confidence when it arrives.

These are some of the labours and dangers which we underwent during this year, with the expectation of greater success in the future; although during the year the means placed at the disposal of the mission were less than we had previously been accustomed to receive.

In the year 1643 there was no augmentation of the number of priests of the Society up to the month of June. In that month Father Robert Ogilvie escaped from the tempests of Ireland, only to be all but drowned or dashed to pieces in the whirlpools of Scotland.

It was some encouragement to labour in sowing the

[1] The meaning of that answer may be explained by a paraphrase. "It is natural for the minister to think as he does, for there were in truth as many as three priests of the name he mentions, and all brothers. On the other hand, many testimonies prove him mistaken. For the first two brothers are dead, and the third left the country when he was a lad. This is well known to men of rank and authority, and is in everyone's mouth."

seed of the divine word, that the garrison being withdrawn from Aberdeen the priest was enabled to go and preach there during the solemn fast of Lent, having been able previously only to make occasional visits to that city. His preaching was attended not by Catholics only, but many others were induced to go with them and listen, without any appearance of opposition or reluctance. The doctor of philosophy whom I have mentioned above, who had given his adhesion to the faith, displayed great satisfaction at this proceeding, because owing to the difficulties of the times he had never heard Catholic sermons before. He soon remarked the wide difference between the wild declamation which the Calvinists are wont to use, and the grave, well-considered addresses of the Catholic preachers, arranged in accordance with sense and judgment. Both Catholics and others who are not depraved by the corruption of heresy, showed wonderful avidity to hear these addresses, the controversial force of which was directed to meet and refute the infamous lies and calumnies which the Calvinist champions in Scotland are too often in the habit of fulminating from their pulpits, with sesquipedalian epithets for spears and javelins, against the teaching of the Church and the lives and morals of the priests. How else can they be described, when it is not only said but believed that the papist idolators do not worship God, that they do not repose their hope in Christ but only in their own merits, and maintain that indulgences are granted for the perpetration of any wickedness for a term of years, and endless inventions of the same description? All these things having been shown to be false, we then proceed to exhibit the truth, light, and power of the Christian faith, and it is wonderful to see with what affection this is welcomed by such

as are not obstinately prejudiced. They are constantly heard to say that the religion and doctrine of the Roman Church seem to them the best of the two.

Notwithstanding the caution observed in these ministrations they were nevertheless reported to the half-yearly meeting of the preachers. They hold two conventions annually in each diocese, and one great synod for the whole country every year, with much pomp and solemnity. The first thing they always take into consideration, is the action required for continuing without intermission the persecution against Catholics, which is discussed with much threatening and wrath on the part of the preachers, and new weapons forged for carrying it out, by means of anathemas thundered against them, by confiscation of property, and sentences of exile or death; all of which, when propounded to the Covenanting Parliament of these days, are not only assented to unanimously, but applauded and immediately enacted.

It was reported to this assembly that on Good Friday a considerable number of persons had assembled at Mass and sermon outside the town of Aberdeen, and had had the audacity to meet in a large body while the synod of the ministers was actually in session. This merited severe castigation, and the preachers determined to watch the assembly of the Catholics narrowly on the Feast of the Resurrection.

The provost of the city was on terms of intimacy with the Catholic gentleman at whose house the assembly was said to have been held, and asked him whether they really were so imprudent as to attend Mass and hear sermons at such a time, in defiance of such orders of Government, with a great gathering of preachers surrounding them and carefully watching all

their proceedings. The Catholic avoided the question skilfully and jestingly, observing that everybody knew that the solemn sacrifice of the Mass was never offered by Catholics on the sixth day of Holy Week, and who would forbid them to say their prayers? Lest the ministers should make a sudden attack upon the houses of the Catholics, the priest celebrated Mass during the night vigil, going out by daytime into the hills and fields, prepared in any event not to disappoint the piety of the Catholics, and not to bring them into danger.

The enemy, however, watched all our proceedings closely, and information was conveyed by a spy to a preacher in the neighbourhood, who was delivering a sermon in the church, that a priest was close at hand, and the house was pointed out in which he was believed to be present at that moment. The preacher declared they must not delay an instant, and summoned his auditory as by the sound of a trumpet to form themselves into a consecrated band and set forth under his guidance, surround the house and not allow the audacious seducer a chance of escape. But he poured the blast of his trumpet into unwilling ears. They all refused to stir, they would not incur the guilt of what they were asked to do, they told him to go himself, and that he was urging them to folly, and it was not their custom to waylay and capture strangers who were doing no harm and were ignorant of what was intended.

The zeal of the preachers was not, however, so easily silenced. Four of them met next day, and determined to undertake the holy work themselves. They watched all the roads, and the ford over the river, most generally used, but in vain. The Catholics had received warning by a second spy, and pointed out to the priest

another path, thus eluding the vigilance of the intending captors.

Another Father defeated the designs of his enemies in a not dissimilar way, by the aid of a friend returning from the Queen's court. A very zealous minister in a small town, hearing of their meeting, was preparing to incite the people to make an attack upon the priest, but the latter entered and left the place so quickly that there was not time for the people to assemble in force, and he escaped by a way which his friend pointed out to him, himself knowing nothing of the matter. The same precaution also saved a priest lately coming from France into this country, who thus avoided the trap set for him on the way, and escaped to a safe place of refuge. There is no doubt he would have fallen into the hands of the men posted to take him, if he had gone along the high road, especially as he was well known in the neighbourhood.

The preachers, daily becoming bolder, endeavoured by every means in their power to seize all the places where priests are received. They were greatly annoyed at the incident related above, when a young gentleman of high family and a scion of one of the noblest houses in the kingdom, being charged with extending protection to priests, managed to elude the accusation; and they resolved and endeavoured to drag him away from the profession of his faith, almost by force, or as he was of resolute disposition, to procure his banishment from the country, as the other alternative. They began to inveigh against him from the pulpits, sent him all sorts of threatening messages, in the name of the whole senate of the Covenanters, set upon him by means of his friends and relatives, his equals in rank, his companions in hawking and the chase, and held over him

the sentence of their anathema, unless he would join them and give his support to the reformed faith: a sentence not without its terrors, because it would sunder him from all human society, render him liable to be proscribed and murdered, and cost him all his possessions, his rank and dignity, his good fame and reputation.

But the more wildly and pertinaciously they urged him, the more resolved they found him. What shocked and made him especially indignant was their declaration, that there would be no peace in the country until the Catholic religion was abjured, and the Covenant expressly designed and drawn up against the orthodox faith established and accepted. He was aided in this decision by the constancy and the counsels of his mother, a most excellent woman, who had suffered persecution for many years past, and bravely endured the Calvinistic anathema. His maiden sisters had rejected, with masculine courage, the threats and censures of the preachers; and his young brother, his servants and the maidens, and some of his relations, had all preceded him in the conflict undismayed. The brave youth admired, and resolved to imitate these examples. All this is the result of the labour of the priests of our Society during many years, who by exhortations and prayers and sacrifices have urged and implored this illustrious family to be constant.

And the end has not disappointed our hopes. He was also aided by the memory of several of his own relatives, both on the father's and mother's side; for his grandfather's brother, and two others of the same house, had been distinguished in our Society, and four members of his mother's family belonged also to the Society, with most of whom he was personally ac-

quainted. One of these died in his castle, and was buried there, and he regarded this both as a pledge and surety of his own loyalty to God, and a testimony of God's kindness for him, and used to say that he had received help from Him when in trouble.

There was another youth exposed to the same trial, whose story was almost exactly similar to the above.[1] The ministers proposed certain articles to him, containing the principal heads of their creed; that the Roman Church has failed and wandered away from the truth, that to multiply Sacraments is useless, and the like; to all which they asked him to assent and subscribe. He denounced them at once as impostors. "I think these heads of your doctrine are like the religion of the Turks. Am I to renounce the teacher and mistress of the faith, throw down the pillar of religion, and take away the principal aids to salvation?" He would advise them to adopt the Alcoran. In fact, at this very time the Calvinists were really meditating the study of the Alcoran in their schools, either as having the greatest affinity with Calvin's dreams, or as suggesting new forms of error.

The mother was assailed in nearly the same way as the son. But she put an end to the controversy with a very few words, alleging the example of her father, who had contended in the arena of persecution from his earliest years, and by his counsels and the efficacy of his persuasion, continued during all his life, had set a noble example. He could never listen to discourse on divine things or join in it, without copious tears,

[1] On 28th November 1639, we find Queen Henrietta Maria recommending to the good offices of Cardinal Barberini a young Scotsman of good family named Colin Campbell, who had been treated with great harshness on account of his recent conversion to the Catholic religion.—*Roman Transcripts, Barberini Collection.* (Record Office).

and was often accustomed to pray that his persecutors might finish by cutting off his head.

Heresy in Scotland abstains from blood and slaughter, but the very aspect of piety which it assumes only renders it more cruel. Its greatest enjoyment is to see Catholics deprived of their possessions and reduced to destitution, and it boasts of hearing that Catholics, when exiles abroad, are contemned and despised even by those of their own religion, or at any rate receive no aid or relief.

It likes to see them dragging out their lives for many years undistinguished and unknown, incapable of holding public office, considered unfit for human society, not permitted to take part in public life or intervene, when their affairs require it, even in the ordinary public transaction of the business of life, incapacitated from appealing to the tribunals, even in causes that are obviously just. The heretics exert themselves to excite tumult and bloodshed in every matter which has reference to the orthodox, and agitate their lives with ceaseless disquiet, so as to leave them no repose or rest.

The young gentleman to whom I have last referred had been married by the Catholic rite, and lest it should be said that he had taken a mistress home instead of a bride, he wished the fact of his marriage to be made publicly known. Accordingly he brought his wife home with a number of young men chosen from his friends, and they all went to the preacher, to give a proof, as he assured him, of the faith and integrity which becomes men of honest life. He said he had taken his wife with the rites of the Church, and would regard her as his lawful consort to the last moment of his life. He hoped his conduct would not be wrongly

interpreted, since he was expelled from their communion, or rather was no follower of their sect, and as a son of the Roman Church he would exhibit that moderation in the conduct of his life which is suitable to men of honour. The preachers, who were furiously enraged, falsely represented this proceeding, as if he had used unjustifiable language and intended it as a reproach against their order; and they even declared that he had drawn his dagger and required the preacher to marry them on the spot.

This malicious story, however, brought nothing but ridicule and disgrace upon them, and every one said the Catholic was in the right, and had acted with courage and firmness. Heresy always adopts this atrocious line of conduct; there is nothing which its pollution does not seek to stain, no aspersion which it will not try to cast upon innocent persons, no blot which the sincerest candour of orthodox piety will not sometimes be obliged to disclaim. The point in question is one which has caused the Fathers of the Society in Scotland great anxiety, difficulty, and risk. The heretics do not positively assert that marriages celebrated by the Catholic rite are invalid; but they inveigh against them in such violent language that the common people, in their simplicity, think they are not properly contracted.

The heretics are always crying out that such marriages are disgraceful concubinage, and those who contract them fornicators, not married persons. In a similar way they make it a grievance that the children of Catholics should be washed in the waters of salvation with the ceremonies of the Church; and this gives rise to great strife and contention, for the relatives of the Catholics not infrequently endeavour to get the infant

carried to the Calvinist temples, from an unfounded idea that an infant baptised by a priest will very soon die. The more rigid Calvinists have adopted the dreadful custom of altering or abbreviating the words of baptism, declaring the form to be unnecessary or useless, and that baptism itself may be used or not at pleasure. This has been proved by many well-established cases.

The Calvinist preachers, in fact, altogether grudge salvation to infants. An honourable man at Aberdeen, very observant in matters of religion, demanded to have his only daughter's son made a Christian by baptism, the name being conferred at the same time, and asked this as a favour to himself. They told him it could not be done in a private house, on account of a fresh decree of the synod. The child was then taken to the kirk, but they would not allow it to be sprinkled with water until the service was over. The sermon was continued to an inordinate length, as is their custom, and the infant, who was at the point of death, drew his last breath before it was concluded, in the sight of all the auditory, and under the very eyes of the preacher himself. The people being astonished at the novelty of this spectacle, he recalled to their recollection the Covenant recently made, by the terms of which, if they faithfully observed them, they and their children were assured of salvation.

The grandfather related these facts to a Catholic friend, and to console himself observed, that the Covenant, in which Popish doctrines are condemned, had not been violated, and this he considered sufficient; a remark which elicited an expression of compassion and commiseration for his foolish and pitiable blindness. Another circumstance occurring in the same

place a few days afterwards gave undoubted proof of the envy and malice of the Calvinist ministers in this respect, and since that time the Fathers of the Society have made it a special care properly to baptise all infants brought to them, or whom they can hear of.

In fact many have advanced very near to the false views of the Anabaptists. A young man of some rank and position, being recently returned from Holland, desired to have the same observance used which he had been accustomed to in his own country, and learned abroad. His infant newly born was to have been brought to the font, at his wife's desire, by her relatives, but he forbade its being baptised, because at its age it was as yet unable to believe.

His own faith was so strong that he once attempted to walk upon the water, but his servant, who was present, pulled him back when he had already placed his feet in the stream which ran before his house, or he would have been drawn into the rapid current. This new dogma received credence, with others which the same individual began to spread along the northern coast. Another exile returned from Holland, having first spent all his patrimony, has become the founder of the sect of the Familists, in Galloway and other districts in the west of Scotland. The institutes of this sect are not altogether new, but suited to the tastes of profligate and wicked men, and as they will not bear the light of day he disseminates them in assemblies held during the night.

The man first mentioned was put in prison at Edinburgh, and some discussion being held with him, he appeared to have the best of the controversy. In fact, the preachers not very unwillingly allowed themselves to be apparently worsted in debate expressly in

order that the recent doctrine, for the introduction of which they desired to pave the way, being supported by scriptural testimony from the mouth of their opponent, might have a less suspicious aspect, and excite less odium. He was detained in prison, eagerly listened to, and entertained crowds of visitors at his table. Apparently he uttered only sentences and oracles from the sacred books. When set free from imprisonment he was not required to change his sentiments, but a judicial order was obtained securing that he should either be shut up in his own house, or not go beyond the boundary of his own grounds.

The other man, the founder of the Familists, is declared to have drawn ten thousand men and women into his opinions, and they declared they were ready to defend their new rule and doctrine with the sword. But the reports that were spread of the iniquities and abominations, and extinction of the lights, at their assemblies, aroused a general detestation of the sect. There is nothing so atrocious which people outside the Church will not be found to invent and accept; a fact of which priests might do well to remind their people, in proof of the soundness and integrity of the orthodox faith.

In the meantime an entry was afforded us into the extreme northern province of Scotland, a region called Caithness, which had long been closed to our approach. A servant in the palace of the Marchioness of Huntly, whom I have mentioned above, had formerly been in the service of a physician, where he was taught the Catholic religion by some of the Fathers of our Society. Returning to his own country, he next entered the service of a wealthy man of knightly rank. This gentleman was anxious to find a priest, and the man

told him he knew where one resided, and could easily convey a message to him. A time and place were fixed upon for their meeting, which was to be the town in the neighbourhood of the castle where the patron resided, and on a day when a fair was held, and his intention was to accost the priest as a friend whom he had encountered, and conduct him to his own home. This gentleman's wife was an opponent of the Catholics, and a woman of zealous and determined disposition, and undoubtedly it would be in her power to put difficulties in the way of the execution of this scheme. On the other hand the priest was well acquainted with her husband's kindred and family, and all the clanship, to which he himself belonged by regard and inclination, and this would be sufficient to account to her for her husband's wish for his society.

The malignant demon, however, endeavoured to upset the whole plan. The father had deposited the sacred furniture for the Mass in Ross-shire, in charge of a faithful friend, to be taken care of; but he had now brought it with him, as he would have an opportunity of saying Mass. This the lady perceived or strongly suspected; and she craftily resolved that on the following Sunday she would invite them to go with her to the kirk, and if they refused, and expressed disapproval, she would know they were both papists. The husband either had not the power to foresee and defeat his wife's preparations, or else he thought lightly of them. The priest said Mass very secretly in a chamber with closed doors, and the Catholic gentleman, having cleansed his soul by confession, was just about to receive the sacred Eucharist with earnest desire and affection, when the lady came to the outer door and called out, that if they did not open it she would break it open. She insisted

on knowing what they were about, why they had locked the doors, in what secret business they were engaged. She became more and more angry, in proportion as her husband bore all this noise and uproar with calm and tranquillity.

She began to threaten them that she would publish throughout the kingdom the audacious act of which they had been guilty in her house, without her knowledge. What, should popish rites be celebrated under her roof? And it seemed likely that a senseless outcry would really be made, for there was a great concourse of people assembled at the fair, and a woman's anger might easily fan such materials into a blaze. However, the Mass was concluded, and the prudent gentleman, not at all disturbed, descended from the apartment, pretended not to have noticed his wife's clamour, and talked on other subjects. She began, however, to inveigh earnestly against this Catholic domestic servant, whom she declared to be born under an unlucky star, and to have brought ruin, destruction, and every ill upon their heads, until the master of the house found it necessary to interfere; for a husband must have authority over his wife, and not allow unrestrained freedom to the perverseness of her tongue. He put on an indignant look and threatening gesture, on which she began to moderate her violence, and became composed.

The next act of the drama took place at nightfall of the same day, and out in the fields. The lady talked quite openly about his not attending the heretic worship in the kirk, about the education of their son, who was now growing up, and about the necessary care of salvation, which in regard to her husband, however obstinate he might be, was a consideration she ought

not to omit; to all which the husband, like a wise man, fully assented. Yet shortly after this the whole place was in tumult and confusion, on account of the assembly of a number of leaders of the Covenanters to make arrangements for sending an army to aid the brethren of their cause in England, and it was only on the tenth day that the priest could manage to effect his escape into safer quarters.

This episode is a specimen of the sort of expedition the Fathers are compelled to undertake to give their assistance to one single Catholic, going and returning, unceasingly on the move, regardless of toil and cold, deterred by no peril or danger, such as have frequently been encountered in travelling about in this country during the past few years. Only by the protection of divine providence can they escape the efforts of their enemies to take them, and when they attempt such an escape the country is crossed by innumerable rivers and estuaries which delay them whithersoever they wish to go. Yet the time spent in these excursions is not without its enjoyment. If the priest travels unaccompanied he has plenty of time for contemplation and prayer, and in inns and seaside places plenty of exercise for patience and ingenuity, and has need of all his prudence in framing replies to questioners, and adopting suitable methods of concealment in the presence of curious observers, always eager to know the name, business, native place and extraction of every unknown traveller.

On one occasion a man of rank engaged in shooting birds encountered a priest on a journey of this description, and immediately asked him where he was going, in a Highland garb and wrapped in a plaid. The priest replied that there was a deer-hunt in

progress, and that he was going to some of his friends to amuse himself by looking at it. He had often been asked the same question before, and found that if he said he was going on business he was never released from further questions, but on this occasion they parted mutually satisfied. It is necessary to make use of endless inventions of this description, differing according to the variety of time, place, and person, and not a day passes without some question of the sort arising.

In the midst of these dangers and disturbances there was cause for still greater anxiety and distress in the parts of the country ordinarily quieter, and where priests are accustomed to reside most frequently. There was a man eminent for rank rather than wealth, whose house had been a place of reception and entertainment for priests for nearly fifty years. In the times of the greatest difficulty and danger, when they were searched for in every part of the kingdom, priests were always to be found in this household, and when they could be concealed nowhere else they could show themselves there without concealment, and celebrate the sacred rites in any place to which they were conducted under this efficient protection. The father and three sons died in honour, and the widow, who was well known throughout the whole kingdom for her heroic endurance of imprisonment for her confession of the Catholic faith, not long since ended her days in peace.

The influence of this family, while they lived, and the prestige of their high descent, rather than of wealth, were like a fortress and a protection for the priests. When they were removed by death, the Catholics found great difficulty in assembling, for the richer men were not bold enough to admit the poor and humble to their houses for divine worship and the

sacred rites of religion. In the days of heroism, when the Catholic nobles were still able to defend their faith with force of arms, this brave and celebrated leader of the Gordon clan had struck terror into the Calvinist armies with the sword; and when our affairs grew worse and worse, he was still able to extend his protection to the priests. The father and all his family used to say that they were fortunate and happy in having harboured in their house on Christmas Day Father Ogilvie, who bravely suffered for the faith, receiving the most holy Eucharist from his hand, and hearing his words, and they always regarded this as a confirmation of their faith, and a striking encouragement to fortitude and constancy. When the chief was dying, the other Father Ogilvie administered the last Sacraments to him; but the crowd of people of humbler rank lamented the loss of their patron and defender. The faith, constancy, and charity of these persons, sown and watered by the Fathers of our Society, are well known in Scotland. They were all instructed by Father James Gordon.

It seems to be God's purpose from time to time to rouse the little and afflicted Catholic flock in Scotland by new incentives to advancement in virtue. Last year the most excellent Marchioness of Huntly gave up both her country and her life, dying in exile in France. The greater part of her court and household, returning to Scotland after her death, or having remained here during her absence, were much distracted by the angry efforts of the Calvinists, who were offended at their venturing to remain behind, or to come back, and looked for some profession of their religion. Her youngest daughter, who was entitled to additional consideration on the ground that she is a widow,

returned to Scotland from Ireland, where she had had some experience of the bitter hostility of her opponents, hoping to find consolation among her family in her double bereavement.

The said widow did not think it desirable to live with her noble brother or her nephew, although both of them were most anxious to do all in their power to serve her, lest they might be inconvenienced by the great number of Catholics of all sorts and degrees who would be sure to gather round them, and she fixed her residence in a charming castle which belonged to one of the chiefs of the clan, where she would be able to live in peace, and afford substantial support and assistance to priests. The owner of the castle was a minor and very young, and was living with the persons who had charge of his education, and it was within the prerogative and authority of the Marquis of Huntly to place his sister in the dwelling of one of the retainers of his house, while it was not occupied by the proprietor. The arrangement, however, encountered great opposition. The guardians of the young chief objected to it, and a man of great influence and authority, who held a high place among the legal profession and the senators of the kingdom, and who had been declared chief trustee of the affairs of the family, by the appointment of the grandfather, would not permit a popish woman to set foot in a house belonging to his charge and under his care.

The relatives of the proprietor, on both sides, pretended to anticipate that the new comers would do some injury to the property, and maintained that the lady should have been placed by her brother's command in his own residence, where she would be surrounded by the observance due to her rank, which besides ought not

to be deprived of its proper splendour and ornament, the presence of its chiefs. She went, however, and a new dayspring of piety seemed to rise before the eyes of Catholics. The castle became a kind of miniature of the Church. Mass was said continually, more than one priest celebrating daily. Sermons were frequent, and the Sacraments were administered with great and encouraging results. The guardians assigned a dwelling to a preacher in one of the buildings close to the castle, but this only exhibited more conspicuously the splendour and power of virtue, by the testimony of the spy they had placed there to observe it. At last even opponents themselves were converted into supporters and advocates. They observed that the castle was admirably preserved and beautified, and congratulated themselves on tenants so considerate and refined and so full of kindness to everyone.

And if they admired the high qualities of the noble widow when she was there, they did so still more emphatically when she was gone, for her successors in the occupation of the house, rather laid it waste than inhabited it. She kept the building in repair, while they made havoc of the furniture and windows; she set an example of quietness, gravity, and every Christian moderation, they revelled far into the night, and filled the place with riot and mischief. At last the guardians' cry was: "How different are the manners of Catholics from these people! what pleasant inmates they are, and what an infliction are the others!"

Elsewhere the happiest results followed from preaching among the Catholics on the feast of the Nativity of Christ our Lord, and they said that none of their heretic preachers could have explained this mystery so clearly and so efficaciously. The orthodox are wonderfully

affected at hearing about the birth and passion of the Saviour, and seem to exult when they hear that a sermon on such subjects is about to be delivered. Meetings of Catholics are all the more delightful, and more valuable, because they result in improvement of manners, modesty of life, and honourable fulfilment of contracts, which brings out the contrast with the foul and deadly poison of the new opinions, and the sad termination of the lives of heretics, of which the following is a melancholy instance.

The new sect known as that of the Familists, desirous of placing their system before the world under the guise of piety, began by publishing a short summary of doctrine, by which their disciples were to instruct their own children and servants in their homes. Then followed nocturnal assemblies of several families, at which there were long readings from the Bible, and speakers of both sexes, equal in number, addressed them in turn. They did not go to the kirk, but met in a building remote from other human habitation, and did not allow anyone to join them except under the strictest precaution by means of a password, on purpose to prevent the access of any person who might make the nature of their proceedings generally known.

Thus the crafty wicked spirit, having induced a number of persons to assemble under pretext of piety, showed himself occasionally to the more comely and beautiful among them. Men accustomed to magic arts and dealings with the devil held the first places in the meetings, and, by the enticements offered to the sight, drew the heedless and innocent in their train. An enquiry was held into these mysterious evil doings, and a man of rank, who was on the bench, discovered that his own daughter had been present at these assemblies.

Horror-struck, he hastened home, and asked whether so great a calamity had really befallen him, and whether his daughter had been present as a spectator at these nocturnal assemblies, and accepted a rose from a man who appeared to be the prince and the most splendid personage present.

She told him the whole story word for word as it occurred. The father fearing the disgrace that would follow, had his daughter privately bled to death. Her sister, who lived in a distant part of the country, and was a widow, hearing of the occurrence, died suddenly of grief. This terrible result of the attendance at the meetings of the new sect caused the association of the Familists to be talked of all over the kingdom, and it was remarked how different it was from the assemblies of the Catholics.

The last event of this year was the assembling of an army in Scotland to assist the Puritans in England.

It remained stationed for some time in the early part of the winter upon the frontier, waiting for an opportunity of making a rapid expedition across the border. New reinforcements were sent also almost daily to the regiments in Ireland, and men were enlisted and trained at home to be ready to serve the cause of the Covenant in any place abroad, where they might be required. These military movements increased to an immense extent, and everywhere severely strained the resources of the Catholics, both of those who were actually in arms for the king, and of those who supplied him with the sinews of war.

The contest was nowhere more fierce and rancorous than in Ireland, and heresy was the sole cause of this terrible calamity, which, by the most inhuman outbreaks of bloodshed and slaughter, alienated two

nations otherwise so closely united. In the following year, nevertheless, the Scots and the Irish Catholics who were sent into Scotland, fought together, and not unsuccessfully, on behalf of the Catholic faith, with perfect harmony and union.

The year 1644 was fruitful in new surprises and events, and an unlooked-for mode of warfare inaugurated fresh slaughter and fresh and unexpected victories. The three nations were all at war, and carried death and destruction to each other's shores. The English were at war among themselves, a powerful Scottish army bringing assistance to one side. Scotland also, after fifty years of peace, was agitated by civil war, a smaller force of Irish and Scottish soldiers coming over from Ireland to join the fray.

There was this single advantage to the Catholics, among a multitude of calamities and inconveniences which this state of things cost them, that their friends abroad were able to render them substantial assistance, and for a time to diminish the audacity of the heretic preachers.

There were five priests of our Society up to the month of August working in Scotland, almost alone. The fruit of their labours in the early part of the year was gratifying and delightful, and though clouded by death, refreshed by the memory of a bright example.

A man excellent beyond almost all others, and matured in age as in merit, was taken from this world, supported by all the rites of the Church. A priest of our Society strengthened him at the moment of departure.[1] Some brief account must be given of his conversion to the Catholic faith, his course of life, and his death.

[1] Manuscript imperfect.

He lived in the metropolis of the kingdom and practised as a jurisconsult, and was an habitual hearer of those who were considered the more eloquent Calvinist preachers. But by the aid of divine light, and the acuteness of his judgment, the Calvinist dogmas seemed to him first shocking, then absurd. Before long he entered into conversation with some of the Fathers of our Society, and becoming by degrees accustomed to associate with Catholics, began more and more every day to long for the truth, as its light began to break upon him. Being received into the Church, he made his wife a partner in his faith, then his sons-in-law, and one of his brothers-in-law.

He showed great respect to the priests, listened to them, and received them in his house. He purchased copies of the soundest books on theology, and attacked the opinions he had formerly been taught, assailing heresy and defending the orthodox belief in disputation among his friends, with great firmness and vigour.

This excited the hatred of the Calvinist preachers to such an extent, and he so wisely, gravely, and lucidly demonstrated the truth of the Catholic faith in his writings, which were circulated on all sides, that in time they abandoned the weapons of controversy and took to those of persecution. He showed these further indications of virtue. He fasted three days in the week, when he was growing old, and a widower. He gave profuse alms to the poor, and was generous to all, and in a time of scarcity he sold the corn from his own lands as well as from other parts of the country at a low price, for the benefit of the poor. He frequently had his possessions plundered, and was driven out of his house by the King's herald, on the publication of a general proclamation directed against

the whole body of Catholics. Yet he still left a fortune to his family, for his lands yielded a rental with accumulated increase. He contributed to the support of the Fathers of the Society on the mission, and gave a marriage portion to his young daughter; and at the time of his death was respected as the most excellent man living.

People flocked to him under the pressure of every kind of calamity, and his advice was considered an invaluable advantage to all who were in trouble. A man who was haunted by spectres, and frightened by the continual apparition of a horrible demon, along the roads and wherever he went, was advised first to make the sign of the cross, and then to sprinkle himself and his dwelling with holy water, on which he was relieved from these appearances. He cured the sick, and animals suffering from the effects of poisoning or sorcery, by sprinkling holy water on them, which his daughters carried for him. A man who had been infirm for many years was advised by him to make a pilgrimage to the Chapel of St Mary of Grace, of which only the ruins, indeed scarcely the traces, now remain. He walked there with the aid of two sticks, and the journey of fourteen miles took him eight days to accomplish. But his malady was removed, and he returned sound and vigorous in a few hours to his home, where he did not cease to proclaim the fact to everyone he saw.

We are desirous that the name of so extraordinary a man should be known to your Reverence, since we are able to raise him no other monument. Robert Bisset, Laird of Lessendrum,[1] who was the parent of the

[1] Legal proceedings were taken against Robert Bisset, Laird of Lessendrum, in February 1628. Order was given to seize his house 18th June 1629.—*Register of Privy Council*, Vols. IV. and V.

Scottish mission of the priests of the Society of Jesus, the servant of the Society, the defender of the faith by his writings and his example, after enduring many sufferings for the Catholic faith to the end of his life, died on the 1st of January 1644, and is acknowledged to have left behind him many who would wish to emulate his virtues, few who could equal them. On his death, an unheard of stroke of barbarity on the part of the heretics, forbade his body being carried into the church of his native place, to be interred with his forefathers. But his friends, relatives, and all his neighbours assembled in great force, conducted the corpse in a long and imposing procession to the church, broke open the door, and buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, amid loud and universal commendation of the memory of one, who had done so much good to all around him.

The business of the mission was conducted successfully and prosperously from the beginning of this year to the month of May.

The man who exercised the highest power and dignity in the north of Scotland[1] considered the Catholics his most faithful supporters, and welcomed them all the more on account of their faith.

Believing the opportunity a good one for taking the King's side, he collected his forces and led them into the field. In this army he allowed the priests of the Society free and ample scope for the exercise of their functions. They incurred no danger from soldiers detached from the force on leave or duty; and men of rank were not afraid to allow priests to take their places publicly in their retinue. They thought it best to make full use of this opportunity, and

[1] The Marquis of Montrose.

the successful issue of the trial showed that they were right.

On one occasion a priest, accompanied by a nobleman who went with him, passed by a castle which was held by the enemy. They were not within reach of the guns, but the garrison fired at them continuously, and sent a girl out to watch their movements, who observed all they said and did at their arrival at their inn. But the host assured her that no one had any cause to be afraid, and he knew the priest, and would effectually prevent any sort of mischief. She was on this free from anxiety, and both sides abstained from injuring one another, and the priest safely reached the sick man to whose house he was going, which was the object of his visit.

But this tranquil state of affairs did not last long. The confederate rebels recalled their regiments from England and Ireland, collected fresh forces and cavalry in addition, and invaded the north of Scotland. The chief who had asserted the King's cause had done so too soon, and without sufficient consideration. He disbanded his army, and fled to the extreme northern part of the island, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. From that time no place or circumstances were safe for priests or Catholics. The Marquis of Argyll, the leader of the confederates, refused nothing to the Calvinist preachers; and he made use of them as heralds to proclaim his commands from their pulpits. The perils which the orthodox incurred during the period of his authority in the northern part of the kingdom were neither slight nor few, and there was added the further calamity that their supporters, having surrendered to the neighbouring confederate nobles, were thrown into prison, and others were betrayed by their relatives.

A certain knight, one of the bravest of men, was shortly afterwards condemned and put to death, another died while still young from the effects of his rigorous imprisonment. Argyll gave himself out as the Governor of Scotland, sent his clansmen, the Campbells, in parties all over the northern counties animated with the most violent enmity to the Catholic religion, and gave them full licence to plunder the flocks and possessions of all whom he named to them as his enemies. No secure hiding place being discoverable in Scotland, two Fathers formed the resolution of penetrating through the Hebrides into Ireland, but did not succeed in the attempt. One of them, who had been conveyed over from Ireland the year before, had a certain resemblance in his look and his hair to the man of high rank, whom I have just mentioned as having escaped into the Strathearn country, and on this account had great difficulty in escaping the hands of the enemy. The other succeeded in obtaining the good will of his relatives and connections in the Highlands, who said it was much to be regretted, that a man of high character and learning should not be able to find a convenient home in his native land, and devote his powers to the service of his country and his nation.

About this time, Father Robert Ogilvie, by the aid of a Catholic gentleman, and on security publicly given by the younger Marquis of Huntly, made his way to the south of Scotland, and thence reached France in safety. There were then only four Fathers left on the mission, Father John Smith, Father James Mackbreck, Father William Grant, and Father Andrew Leslie. Three of these being in the north of Scotland, the preachers resolutely set to work to hunt for them, and having plenty of soldiers at their disposal for that

purpose, it was more and more easy for them every day to bring trouble and annoyance upon the Catholics.

Argyll sent a company of soldiers to the house of a Catholic gentleman to take up their quarters there, with full powers to possess themselves of the year's produce. The mistress of the house soon recognised that they had been sent with the malevolent intention of consuming all their stores and means of living. She therefore determined to go and speak to Argyll himself, and did not allow herself to be stopped by sentinels or attendants, telling all who sought to keep her from his presence that they were rude and unmannerly.

She found with him the Sheriff of Aberdeen, who was quite willing to help her in any way he could. "Why," she said, "should the soldiers rob and plunder me, and spoil the goods, the crops, and the land of papists? Let him first throw a stone at the papists, who does not consider that he had papists for his forefathers." The Marquis felt that this was aimed at him, for his father had been a Catholic.

Although he was not influenced by his father's example, he was not prepared to quarrel with a woman, who had evidently much more of the same sort to say, and he assured her that the soldiers should shortly be removed. She earnestly insisted on having this order in writing, and obtained by her importunity what a simple request was not sufficient to exact. But this occurrence only made him more bitter and determined in the future, and neither he nor his soldiers seemed disposed to spare anyone again.

Another Catholic lady was, by the most merciful grace of God, removed at once from plunder and invasion, and all the other ills of life. Almost a year before, being then in perfectly good health, she

seriously assured a priest that she was soon going to die, and in a kind of prophecy declared that some most terrible calamity was threatening Scotland, from which, by the divine clemency and indulgence, she hoped to be taken away. And she added that no effectual assistance would be rendered to the Catholic cause by men who were not Catholics themselves, however much they might commend and extol the faithful services the Catholics rendered them in every affair, and their assiduity and constancy, and although they fully trusted them, communicated to them their most secret designs, sent them on embassies to the King, and employed them as secretaries to manage their correspondence. The event showed that she was right, and every day brought this truth more fully in evidence. She herself received the light of religion by a wonderful grace of God, not that she had been obstinately confirmed in heresy, but she had lent a too credulous ear to the calumnies which the preachers were always pouring forth from the pulpits.

This noble lady having become imbued with the precepts of the faith, brought her husband also round to the same conviction, having roused his admiration by the integrity of her life, the gravity of her manners, and her assiduity in prayer. In her conversation she demonstrated the foundations of the orthodox faith in the most efficacious manner, especially to her children, who were previously brought up in heresy, and refuted the cavils of the Calvinist preachers with reasoning so wise, that it seemed beyond the ordinary capacity of the female mind. She most earnestly entreated to have her little son, two years of age, educated by the Fathers of the Society, and declared that she had no other cause of anxiety left on

earth, if they would undertake it. Although the armies of the Covenanters blocked all the neighbouring country, or were invading it, the priest made his way back to bring her the assistance of the Sacraments. Her end brought praise and honour to the orthodox faith, and consolation to the labours of the Fathers. She was a Gordon by descent, and her name was Agnes.

Meanwhile the Marquis of Argyll made a progress through every part of the northern provinces, like a king, employing his preachers as denouncers of the Catholics and contrivers of persecution against them. He made choice of the town of Turriff in the Buchan country, a well-known station of the assemblies of the Covenanters, as his headquarters, and the place at which his edicts were to be published, and pitched a kind of regal camp in the ground near the town, with a regiment of soldiers as a pretorian guard, and four troops of horsemen. The Calvinist preachers crowded around him with the names of the persons who were known to uphold the King's cause, and whom they denounced as guilty of treason. There resided in the immediate neighbourhood a widow lady, who was animated with great dislike to the heretics, and who inhabited a fine and conspicuous castle. They pretended that this lady had had four priests to dinner at her house, and expected, if the charge were proved, to make large profit by the plunder of her property.

But by the counsel of God it turned out differently, and an innocent person was preserved from misfortune so great as that which her malevolent opponents said she merited. The task of conducting the enquiry was entrusted to a veteran regiment of infantry, known as the Lothian corps. Argyll had

gone into the Moray country, attended by his horsemen, and had enjoined upon the captain of the regiment, a man of rude and harsh character, who had recently expelled two noble matrons from their homes, not to fail in taking the same course in the present case. One of these belonged to the family of the chief of the Ogilvies, and was detested worse than a dog or snake, by Argyll and the Campbells, both on account of her profession of the Catholic religion and her descent. The other had been driven away from her castle on account of the conduct of her son, who had taken up arms for the King, by her encouragement and advice, and the mother was oppressed for the fault of her child. The officer had now to undertake a third similar feat of arms, and began by surrounding the place so that no one could escape without his knowledge. The castle was garrisoned, not by armed men, but by a bevy of girls whom the prudent woman supported and brought up as her attendants, with her daughters.

The soldier found her unprepared for attack, and walking in her garden. He gave her no salutation, nor addressed her in any of the ordinary forms of politeness, but only said, "If Argyll were here, he would make you a Roundhead." She replied that she wore her hair as nature bestowed it on her. The word he used referred to one of the names of the new sect, the members of which, wishing to be esteemed more rigid and precise, did not allow their hair to grow freely, but cut it short all round about the ears. An order was given to bring implements to force the gates, but there was no necessity to do it, as they stood open. They searched every corner of the house, and the officer himself looked into the meanest

places, expecting to find there either priest or money concealed. Disappointed in this hope, he set to work to plunder or destroy the furniture, clothes, and whatever else came in his way, and then turned the lady of the house, her daughters, and all the Catholic members of her household, out of doors, and sent them under an escort of soldiers to the town of Banff. Now there happened to be a relationship or connection between the lady and the lieutenant-colonel commanding the place.

The gravity of demeanour, the charm of modesty, and candour of Catholic honesty and straightforwardness, which were conspicuous in the lady herself and her band of attendant maidens, obtained them the reverence and respect of the whole regiment stationed at Banff, and all the officers with one exception, as well as the lieutenant-colonel himself, strove to imitate them. It ended by their all declaring themselves openly in the service of this lady, promising to do all she desired, treating the prisoners in their hands with greater kindness and liberality, relieving them of some of their heavier tasks in camp, and moderating their own demands for supplies from the inhabitants, while the captain became ashamed of his rudeness, in not having shown proper respect to a woman who possessed such high character and influence. But no excellence could soften Argyll. Being recalled to the south by reports which reached him from England, he sent her to Turriff under a guard, and placed her under the eyes of a preacher, to prevent any priest having access to her, compelling her to find security among her friends, that she would not live in her own castle, or any other dwelling belonging to her, though these were close at hand, so that she was compelled to live as an exile from her own house, although in sight of it.

The husband of the Lady Ogilvie was put in irons and conveyed to Edinburgh to be put to death,[1] the upper part of his castle being pulled down, lest it should be used for defence, while a guard of Campbells, encamped in the fields, was left in possession. Argyll held the low land under his authority with some troops of horse, and the hills with some light armed soldiers of his own clan, who were bitter enemies of the Catholics. It was among these hills that the priests were accustomed occasionally to find a refuge, and they had now much difficulty in knowing where to go for safety. They wrote down the name of one priest who was accustomed to seek safety among the Catholics in the Highlands, that they might search for him and make him prisoner. But God interposed an obstacle to their malice, for many of the soldiers were not Campbells, but men of other clans who had been pressed into the service against their will, and these sent word to their relatives among the inhabitants of the search which was being made for the priest, so that they soon abandoned the pursuit. The Campbells were so greedy of booty that they searched even the graves of the dead, and groped with their hands in pools of water and behind walls, and were always most savage in places inhabited by Catholics.

[1] James, Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of James, first Earl of Airlie, was taken prisoner in July 1644, and sent to the loathsome prison of Edinburgh, where he lay till released by the victory of Kilsyth. Much of the Ogilvie property was destroyed by Argyll. "Argyle," says Spalding, "most cruelly enters the house of Airlie, and beats the same to the ground; and right so he does to Forthar—another dwelling of the family in Glenisla, which had been made Lord Ogilvie's family residence. They spuilzied all and such as could not be carried was despitefully burned by fire." And again: "And although the Lady Ogilvie was great with child at the time, asked license of Argyle to stay in her own house till she was brought to bed, that could not be obtained, but Argyle causes expel her, who knew not wither to go."—Napier, *Memoirs of Montrose*, vol. I., p. 247.

Another priest who had narrowly escaped an ambush set for him by one of his nearest relatives, chose for his habitation the safest place he could find, which was a cave in a hillside, remote not only from human approach, but from any route where there were passers by. Only two persons knew of his retreat, and these brought him food at stated times, and he placed a stone on the mouth of the cave lest the opening should attract attention and be searched on the chance of finding him. Another remained in the day time among the hills, and at night repaired to some huts or sheds the situation of which he knew, but never had any fixed habitation, in order to elude the spies, who believed they would confer an obligation on Argyll and his Campbell marauders by tracking a Catholic or a priest. He had converted a servant, a man of great activity, to the orthodox faith, and he occasionally sent him to the camp of the Covenanters to obtain intelligence, and at other times to the Catholics to enquire if they were in any danger. He used to say Mass after midnight, in order to reach the mountain tops before daylight.

There were a considerable number of men who had followed the nobler cause, who now disguised themselves in common dress, and lived without any fixed dwelling, sometimes among the hills and precipices, and sometimes in the valleys where the shepherds fed their flocks and herds, lest if they inhabited any settled abode, or lived under any roof, they might be taken unawares by the light-armed Campbells who pervaded every part of the country. Some of these were betrayed by their relatives, and made prisoners. The priest at last came to the conclusion that he would encounter less danger in the plains, where it was reported that

a considerable number of Catholics had found refuge in lonely and out-of-the-way places, or by moving about had been able to elude the search of the soldiers. He accordingly made some slight alteration in his dress, and, accompanied by one of his intimate friends, wandered about in places where he was most likely to receive information as to what was going on.

It happened during that time that a young gentleman of the Ogilvie family killed a lieutenant-colonel of the Confederates, who was engaged in a raid upon his house for the purpose of plunder, and was on that account compelled to go into hiding to avoid the fury of the soldiers. He was called the young Lord of Banff, and was believed to be in the same part of the country where the priest was in retirement. One of his servants, desirous of averting enquiry from his master, had told the mistress of the house of entertainment where the priest had taken refuge, cunningly as he supposed, that this was the priest's name; imagining that the reputation and favour which this title would bring him would be an assistance to the priest in obtaining hospitality and protection. The landlady on this observed all her guest's movements with the greatest interest and curiosity, and sought for every opportunity of serving and showing courtesy to the young stranger on her hands. The story soon gained ground, and became known to some Calvinist preachers who were accustomed to drink in the same house. With an apology for the intrusion, they entered the inner apartment where the priest lodged, and asked him, in a manner which they could not prevent suggesting some suspicion, whether the lieutenant-colonel had been badly hurt; promising their own protection to the assailant, although they lived in a part of the

country at that moment in the occupation of the Campbells. The art of perfidiously veiling their real intentions by smooth words and flattering artifices has never been brought to greater perfection than among the preachers, and they often catch the unwary in a snare from which it is not easy to extricate themselves.

The priest, aware of this, answered in as few words as possible, that the lieutenant-colonel had made an attempt at violence and robbery, but had been promptly repulsed. A Catholic gentleman who was present, and bore the character of Banff's conductor and guide, observed that it was not necessary to tell these circumstances at the moment. The hostess, faithful to the duties of hospitality, whispered in his ear, asking him whether he would not gladly be quit of these troublesome fellows, whom drinking had rendered rather too free of speech. The priest took this friendly and prudent hint, and thanked them for the kindness they proposed to extend to him, in such a way as to make them not desirous of asking him any more questions. I have related this little comedy as an allowable means of escape from a pressing danger, or what might have led to such. The preachers in Scotland are determined, to a degree beyond what could be described, or would be believed, to get full information about everything they see and hear, nor do they hesitate to contrive mischief against anyone whatever, but rather glory in it, and in these practices they discover an art and ingenuity which renders them formidable and detested by all mankind.

The third priest lived in that part of the northern counties into which the Covenanters had first advanced when their invasion began, and very often in the midst of them, of course observing due caution, but as he was

believed to be dead, he was enabled actively to give his assistance to the Catholics. Nevertheless he ran more risk than he expected. He was seen by some of the horsemen detached on duty privately leaving his house in company with some Catholic gentlemen with whom he was in conversation, as he was walking near the garden wall. They thought it best not to go outside to meet the horsemen, and accordingly returned to the house. They had a hiding place all ready there, but could not remain in it long, for the soldiers would think very little of setting fire to the house, or they might watch it until the men whom they had observed hiding, should come forth again. Accordingly the gentleman, who seemed least liable to risk, went out and spoke to them, as if nothing unusual was the matter, asked to what friends he was indebted for a visit to so lonely a mansion, and gave them money to get some dinner, because as he assured them he had nothing to eat or drink to set before them, and thus got rid of them in good temper. These are some of the perils in the midst of which the Fathers lived, and which they encountered gladly and joyfully, knowing that the less care they took of their own lives, the better they would be able to avert distress and trouble from other Catholics.

The Covenanters called the parliament together again this year at Edinburgh, for the public trial and execution of some men of high rank whom they had made prisoners, or who had surrendered, and to declare all persons, who had supported the royal authority in arms or with their voices, guilty of high treason and rebellion, and to be proscribed as outlaws. But there was no appearance of legality in their proceedings, for the heads of the most ancient and noble families were expressly

forbidden to appear. The viceroy, who presided, was not allowed to exercise his authority, nor the members entitled to vote, to exercise that privilege, except only those of the party of the Covenanters. The act was passed by these votes alone, and declared inviolable on any consideration or by any means. These acts always imported the condemnation of the Catholics, because the first thing required of all who took the Covenant was the abjuration of the Catholic faith.

The Calvinist confession is negative in form, and very brief, and does not assert that they believe anything, but it denies, anathematises, abjures, condemns, execrates, and consigns to detestation all the articles of Catholic truth, in language that seems borrowed from hell. The general assembly of the preachers was held at the same time with the parliament, the former in the church, the latter in the court-house. They decreed against the Catholics everything that was horrible, murderous and terrific, and fulminated the same anathemas against the king's supporters as against the orthodox in religion; and this sentence was published from all the pulpits of all the Calvinist preachers throughout the country.

CHAPTER V

MONTROSE, AND THE WINTER CAMPAIGN OF 1644

Father Macbreck's Letter—continued.

Introductory Note

In the midst of this tempest of violence, a Catholic military force, composed equally of Scots and Irish, afforded Catholics protection for a time. Montrose and the Earl of Antrim had taken counsel together to devise the means of rescuing Scotland from the hands of the rebels, and obtained this concession for the Catholics, that while the expedition lasted they were to enjoy liberty of worship (p. 282). During the great part of this summer the rebels devastated the northern shores of Scotland. At the news that a force from Ireland had landed (8th July 1644), and were threatening the territory of the Campbells, they went off to their own country (p. 287).

On first landing, the Catholic regiments encamped in Ardnamurchan; their arrival was announced and proclaimed by authority (p. 287). Owing to the absence of Montrose, who was in England, Donald Macranald, a soldier of high reputation in the wars in Germany, undertook to lead them to Athole, whence under the command of Alexander Macdonald they marched at once to the enemy, and were victorious in two engagements. After the victory of Aberdeen, Montrose marched to Mar and the Spey, where the Catholics were ready to join them (p. 292). While Montrose was enlisting soldiers in the Highlands, Argyll was plundering the country. Montrose returned to the north with unexpected celerity, and met the enemy on the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (28th October 1644). Argyll had a large body of cavalry; Montrose had none, and was compelled to fight on level and open ground destitute of vegetation. Argyll, however, was driven off the field. Shortly after Montrose set off for Athole. The journey was to be through the mountains in winter time, and they had to traverse forty miles before the end of November (p. 300). When the heights were

JAMES GRAHAM,
First Marquis of Montrose.

From the engraving by Faed of the picture by Honthorst.

scaled, hills beyond hills rose above them, almost perpendicular, so that they had to climb up them on their hands and feet (p. 301). In the middle of the night they reached the royal garrison town of Blair.

No persuasion or promise had yet been able to detach the Campbells from the Covenant (p. 304). They had long been the fiercest persecutors, and, whenever they could, the murderers of the Catholics in the North of Ireland and the whole of Scotland. It seemed difficult to secure any permanent advantage over the rebels unless the Royalists crushed the Campbells, and devastated Argyll with fire and sword (p. 306). The King's subjects would not flock to his standards if these rebels were not hunted down in their strongholds (p. 307). At a council of war it was unanimously decided to invade Argyll.

The army quitted Lower Breadalbane on 11th December 1644, and after taking Dochart Castle, proceeded to Glenorchy and reached Inveraray before the Marquis of Argyll was aware of their approach. The houses of the rebels were burnt in just reprisals of war, but clemency was extended to those who, against their own will, had been drawn into the Covenant (p. 309).

Having traversed the Argyll country, they settled and encamped in the neighbouring land of Lorne. It was the first time priests had ever been seen there, since the outbreak of heresy and the destruction of the churches (p. 311).

In the midst of all this tempest of violence, Almighty God was preparing a check to its fury. This was a Catholic military force, composed equally of Scots and Irish, not very numerous, but strong and efficient, and animated by an energy derived from above. They afforded Catholics assistance and protection for a time, and repressed the efforts of the more rigid among the Calvinist rebels. They were called three regiments, although their numbers scarcely exceeded eleven hundred, and each regiment had a priest whom they called the *parochus*. They sailed from Ireland on the feast of the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, with orders to sail all round the island in order to avoid the fleet of English rebels, but were obliged to put back to the

same harbour the following day, the wind being against them. The next time they succeeded better, and without any alarm from the rebel ships, safely reached the western shores of Scotland. Their whole force, with all their war stores, not on a large scale, was conveyed in two trading vessels. They were preceded, and learned the direction of the voyage from a boat which conveyed some preaching ministers returning from Ireland, whither they had gone to establish there the Calvinistic heresy of the newly formed Covenant.

The Marquis of Antrim,[1] who was born in Ireland, but was of Scottish extraction, and chief of the clan Macdonald, was the man who sent this band of warriors across the sea. Antrim and the Marquis of Montrose, chief of the very ancient house of Graham in Scotland, had taken counsel together in the King's court and camp, to devise the means of rescuing their native land from the power of the rebels, and obtained this concession for the Catholics and the priests, that while the expedition lasted they were to enjoy liberty of worship. Antrim was an ardent Catholic; Montrose, though he did not embrace the Catholic faith, was free from any dislike to it, and recognised that integrity of allegiance and fidelity among men of rank to the cause of the crown existed amongst us, at any rate, in a high degree. There were large numbers of the Macdonalds residing in foreign countries, and desirous to return to their native land, and were meanwhile in the service of Catholic princes almost exclusively. Their name was formerly very celebrated in the Isles, and all over the west of Scotland, their revenue fell short of that of the King by the sum of two pence only, and they

[1] Randall Macdonell, Marquis of Antrim, a Roman Catholic, was descended from the noble and ancient family of the Macdonalds.

were remarkable for strength of body and lofty courage. Nor have they sunk below the level of their former greatness, for this nation is still noted for the numbers and brave disposition of their fighting men. Nearly all the men of this name and race have a leaning to the orthodox faith, and resemble their forefathers as much in the cultivation of piety as in their hereditary characteristics.

While this double enterprise of war and faith was being prepared in Ireland—which may be regarded as Scotland's only friend and daughter—and was striking terror into such of the rebel party as had not as yet fully unfurled the standard of their perfidious religion, there was no diminution of the troubles of the afflicted Catholics. The grandson of the late Marquis of Huntly, and now the hereditary chief of that house, who, as I have said, came over from Ireland in the previous year, returned thither during this year. His widowed grandmother, who was most diligent in the observance of the exercises of piety, afforded all the consolation she could at his departure, to small and great, but she found it impossible to remain long in Scotland. The other widow, whom I mentioned[1] as having been turned out of her castle, was required to surrender the revenue of the estates settled on her as her dower, on the ground, that having incurred the Calvinist anathema for high treason, she was regarded by the heretics as one rightly deprived of all help or assistance from God or man.

A priest nevertheless succeeded, by expeditions undertaken at night, and constantly essaying and discovering fresh routes, in providing this Catholic family with Mass and in administering to them the Sacra-

[1] See above, pp. 272, 273.

ments, and often made his way to the place, though it was surrounded by a very hostile guard of soldiers.

The priest had often before given this assistance to Catholics without any accident or danger, which was prevented by vigilance and was never more than an alarm, but one day the danger became imminent, if a merciful God had not averted it, and threatened the widow, already cruelly persecuted, her daughters, and all her household with serious trouble. A troop of Argyll's cavalry had come to pasture their horses in the fields near the house, and having carefully surveyed the place, perceived that it was not without inhabitants. At that moment the lady, attended by several companions, drew near the gate, when the lieutenant suddenly ordered it to be opened. He said he had authority from the Marquis of Argyll to search the palace, the castle, and all the buildings round it, at any time it might be necessary and he thought proper.

The lady at once perceived the imminence of the danger, and dexterously arranged that the keys should not be easily obtainable, gave many different orders calculated to occasion delay, especially as most of her servants were gone to the fair at Turriff, while her daughters went into the castle and gave intelligence to the priest, and the young man who was in hiding with him in case risk should occur. The keys being at last brought, she had the doors thrown open; but whether it was an impulse from God, or the effect of the courtesy shown by the clever lady, the lieutenant did not choose to enter. But there was not yet an end to the danger or the alarm. The following night he set on guard, in the buildings just in front of the gate, some horsemen and soldiers, who placed sentinels and watched everything carefully, and perceiving a lad, who had

secretly gone out climbing over the wall, called out that there were people living in the tower. This might well have increased their suspicions, but the lady sent two girls to carry food and drink to the soldiers in their guardhouse, which they gave them through an open window, and this diminished the alarm. In a short time, it being necessary to find fresh pasture for the horses, the officer removed these unwelcome guests elsewhere, and with them, the anxiety which their presence caused. If he had had malice enough to induce him to search the house through, there were two brave men who were determined to meet him with their weapons, but by the goodness of God he was restrained by more gentle means. The marriage rite was celebrated, the Sacraments administered, and an address delivered in which the Catholics were animated to a firm endurance of persecution, and thus joy flourished in the midst of sorrow.

About the same time God showed His judgment in striking down one of the authors of the persecution. Gilbert Ross was born at Carrick, in the west, and was preacher of Ayr, a town infamous for its obstinacy in the Calvinist errors, and more particularly in the recently started doctrines of the Brownists. He was especially chosen to attend the General Assembly in Moray, in the northern provinces, with the view of spreading his doctrine in those parts, or urging it to greater madness if already planted there. Among other horrible dogmas of this sect, they declare that the ordinary forms of salutation, "God preserve you in health," "God bless you," "God assist you," are not pious forms of prayer, but words of blasphemy. And they are particularly indignant when they hear these words spoken after sneezing, as is the general custom. This

trumpeter of a new faith, being at Elgin, formerly the episcopal see of Moray, meeting a woman in the street and hearing her utter one of these expressions while sneezing, immediately struck her a blow in the face. So wild is the madness with which these men are infected. But he exhibited a much greater instance of audacity than this, for he was the first mover of persecution against the most excellent Marchioness of Huntly, and published the sentence of banishment against her, by authority of the synod of preachers. He was wilder in his madness than the whelps of Calvin, and that which the first destroyers of the churches did not attempt, being frightened by so many miracles which deterred them, this man completed.

In the venerable and celebrated church, dedicated to the most Holy Trinity, still called that of the canons of Elgin, there was left a magnificent picture of Christ coming to judgment, as well as a crucifix placed for veneration on the rood-loft at the entrance to the choir, and these he caused to be removed. What was left of the woodwork and the beams which supported it, he had conveyed to his own house, to be burnt. But by no means or contrivance could he get them to take fire, and from that time he was never able to get any sleep, being pursued by demons in his own house and abroad, who he imagined were stoning him to death. He constantly changed his residence, but was everywhere pursued by his evil spirit. At length he was suddenly taken ill, after an outbreak of passionate anger, and the only words he uttered were, "I am damned, I am damned!" to the terror of all who came to see him. His wife could not bear to stay with him in his delirium, and left him, and he shattered his own nose, through which it was said the Devil carried away

his raging soul, and so was thrust down to hell. They scarcely dared to carry his body, damned also and foul with decomposition, to the tomb, so great was the horror which his cry of damnation struck into the hearts of all who came near him.

During a great part of this summer the rebels devastated the northern shores of Scotland, much more like freebooters than soldiers, and drove their prey off to their own land of Argyll. But the bearers of the spoil, on returning from the Highlands to the western coast, sent word that the enemy had landed in force, and were threatening the territory of the Campbells with fire and sword. This had the effect of withdrawing the remaining and more formidable portion of the Campbells from their camp quarters in Mar and Strathearn. Leaving behind them all the provisions they had stored up, they went off to their own country, to the great joy of the inhabitants. These enemies were the army which had been raised in Ireland, and which arrived in Scotland in July of this year,[1] landing in Ardnamurchan, a district in the west, within sight of the islands of the Hebrides.[2] Their landing was accompanied by some confusion arising from an extraordinary prodigy which occurred, for although the sky was cloudless and there was no sign of any disturbance of the atmosphere, there was

[1] Probably 8th July 1644.

[2] This force was under the command of Alexander Macdonald, son of Coll Keitache Mac Gillespick Macdonald of Colonsay. The nickname Keitache corrupted into "Colkitto," was applied to both chiefs. Alastair was Antrim's cousin, and was of gigantic frame and strength. With Antrim's promised aid, 1600 men, he landed at Ardnamurchan early in July, wasted the country for forty miles, and seized Mingary and Loch Alyne. Getting no support from his kindred, he prepared to return to Ireland. The Campbells, meanwhile, had burnt his three ships, and he was obliged to march eastwards through Lochaber, but failed to raise any strength for the King. Even the loyal clans doubted his commission, or would not serve under him. After trying the Mackenzies in Ross, and

suddenly heard a terrific explosion, so loud as to be heard in every part of Scotland, the effect of which was to make everyone feel as if his ears were stunned by a report from behind him, from an enormous brazen cannon of unheard-of dimensions.[1] There was no lightning, no clouds collected in the sky, and no rain fell, as it usually does during a thunderstorm in summer in Scotland. There was an agreement among all persons who described the occurrence, that it was of an unusual character, and that it was absolutely impossible for human understanding to conjecture what it portended; when gradually the rumour everywhere spread that a cruel, savage, and foreign enemy had invaded the country.

On first landing, the regiments encamped in Ardnamurchan, from which they turned out the Campbells, and then removed to Loch Alyne, where they established a strongly fortified camp, and they placed there all their warlike munitions and stores, and a strong garrison. The ships then left for Skye, while the men marched on foot to the borders of Ross; but the ships, which were Dutch, were soon seen to surrender to some English vessels belonging to the rebels, which followed

nearly coming to blows with them, he came down upon Badenoch, and there, through the influence of the Gordon connection, raised 500 men. Down the Spey he was stopped by the Laird of Grant, and turned towards Athole, where his force would probably have been destroyed by the Robertsons and Stewarts but for the timely appearance of Montrose. A messenger from these clansmen sent towards Perth with the fiery cross, encountered Montrose in Methven, and informed him of the situation. Within twenty-four hours Montrose united the opposing forces. After Kilsyth Macdonald was knighted by Montrose, but deserted him before Philiphaugh.—Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 54.

[1] The same is related by Patrick Gordon, "A heavy mounted piece of ordnance rang in the ears of the kingdom when young Colkitto landed in the West, bringing home again the Macdonalds driven to Ireland a generation ago."—*Britane's Distemper*, pp. 62, 63.

them, and some effects which they had not had time to remove and take with them, were given to the captors by the men on board, to save their own lives. The regiments conveyed the King's letters and commission to the Earl of Seaforth, who exercised wide jurisdiction in Ross-shire, but he would not even touch them, declaring indignantly, as was afterwards reported, that they were papistical writings. He was, however, compelled to give the soldiers provisions, under a threat that otherwise they would take them by force. Some of the chiefs of the Isles, however, who hold the King's name and authority in high respect, received the letters with much reverence, and joined themselves as associates in the enterprise.

The entrance of a foreign army into the kingdom was not left to mere rumour, but was announced and proclaimed by authority. Messengers were sent in every direction, all over the north of Scotland in the first instance, carrying a lime branch made into a cross (the fiery cross[1] was at that time the well-known emblem of war) and strips of paper in their hands containing the news in print, and all men from sixteen to sixty, who were strong enough, were required to give in their names as recruits to the army. Everywhere was heard the cry to arms, martial ardour prevailed on all sides, and tumultuous crowds assembled. A fresh report arose that a still more numerous force of invaders had landed on the eastern coast, and the messengers were then despatched everywhere into the heart of the country. All this movement had, however, no direct purpose or object, because no one was acquainted with

[1] A cross of wood, every point whereof was seamed and scathed with fire. The messenger declared that Macdonald had entered Athole with a great army of the Irish, and threatened to burn the whole country if they did not rise against the Covenant.—Napier, Vol. II.

the plan of invasion, or knew in which direction the attack would be made.

Nevertheless the creation of this general and terrifying alarm was very craftily contrived on the part of the rebels, because it induced the people to believe that war had been made upon the Covenanters in opposition to the established law of nations, for the subversion of the liberties of the people, and to reduce them to slavery, especially as it was added that a popish enemy, hostile to the reformed religion, was bent upon overturning the constitution of the country. The truth really was that the Covenanters themselves refused to the best of Scotland's subjects the enjoyment of the commonest natural rights, the friendly intercourse of life, and the protection of the law. In the case of Catholics especially did they show their hatred; they plotted against their lives, sent them into banishment without cause or reason, robbed them of their property, and pursued them with ceaseless hatred and dislike.

The Catholic regiments could not at first determine what course to take, or where to go. The two vessels, which had brought them over, had been lost on the return voyage; or, if one had escaped, it had gone to the Hebrides. Moreover, the plan had been that Montrose should come to Scotland, to take the chief command of the expedition, and that Antrim should join him from Ireland. But now the regiments did not know what had become of their commander-in-chief, while he, arriving in Scotland with only a few companions, was not sure whether his regiments had yet reached the mainland.[1]

But the divine appointment happily sent them another leader to direct their movements, who, being well-

[1] *Cf.* Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, pp. 38, 48.

known for Catholic piety, was the better able to carry out the counsel of the Almighty. This was Donald Macranald, called the Fair, a soldier of high reputation in the wars in Belgium and Germany. He belonged by birth to the clan Macdonald, and had been educated by his parents in the faith of his forefathers. Prompted by his anxiety to serve his clansmen, and his care for the welfare of Catholics, he undertook to show them the way into a part of the country where the officer in chief command of the King's army was most likely to be found. Ultimately the commander of the regiments joined his soldiers in Athole, and they at once marched against the enemy, who were assembling from all quarters, and were victorious in two engagements.[1] Here they learned that there were some of the Fathers of our Society in Scotland, who had rendered them effectual service in this juncture of their affairs, and the regiments began to exhibit at once the most friendly sentiments towards the priests and the Catholics. That one of our number who first became acquainted with them furnished one of the officers with a list of Catholics, that our friends might be recognised and exempted from plunder, and not confused with the general body of the rebel party. For the general commissioned by the King to command his armies in Scotland had orders to subdue the rebels with fire and sword, and if our friends were not known, they might have run some risk of loss or ruin from this cause, as the army traversed the kingdom. The result was that with the good will of the general and the friendship of the soldiers, the Catholics, after the victory at Aberdeen,[2] were entered on the roll of their friends. Montrose proceeded thence

[1] The battle of Tippermuir and the surrender of Perth.

[2] This took place on 12th September 1644.

to Mar and the Spey, in the northern Highlands, and here he found the Catholics very ready to join him, and another priest visited the army. He was most courteously received by Alexander Macdonald,[1] whom the Marquis of Antrim had placed in command of the regiments. Macdonald was remarkable for zeal in the faith and strength and courage of mind and body, and it was thought that no man like him had lived for centuries. His very name was a terror to the heretic Campbells, who kept his father and brothers in prison and in chains.

From this time increased advantages were derived from the good understanding which subsisted between the Catholics and the regiments. The Marquis of Montrose returned to the south, in pursuance of a stratagem directed against Argyll, the leader of the rebels, and the priests were consequently still in danger. One of them made his way through the scattered bands of the rebel army, which were on the march in different directions, to visit a Catholic who was lying dangerously ill in the house of another man, and at a distance from his own home. He administered all the Sacraments to him, and rescued him from the jaws of death. On his return, being in the house of a friend, he narrowly escaped being made prisoner by the soldiers engaged in plundering the dwellings of the Catholics. A young man of fierce disposition, belonging to a family most hostile to the Catholic religion, had taken command of

[1] Alexander Macdonald had now returned from Badenoch and had brought along with him the Chief of the Macdonalds with 500 of his men. —(*Deeds of Montrose*, ch. viii. p. 79.)

John Macdonald was Captain of Clanranald at this time.—(Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, 79.) Montrose divided his army into three parties, the first commanded by the chief of the MacRonalds, the second by Macdonald, and the third by himself.

a troop of horse, and at the instigation of the preachers proceeded to lay waste the lands and property of the Catholics, quartering his robber-troopers among their houses. One evening in the twilight they were entering the house just as the priest was coming out of his room, but the servants warned him of the rebel soldiers, and conducted him another way. On the following morning as he was leaving the place in search of a safer retreat the soldiers met him in the fields, but he concealed himself in a hollow of the hills, and escaped.

The eager young zealot then announced his intention of making a thorough search of the house, which belonged to a man of high rank, who was then absent with his wife. He summoned a girl of fifteen years of age, and offered her a bribe, asking her if she knew where the gold and silver were kept. She answered that her sister, having left the day before on a visit to a sick relative, had taken with her all that had been hidden away. Then he enquired about the Mass furniture and books, but these had been committed to safe custody elsewhere, for fear sacrilegious hands should be laid upon them. Late the same evening he received a letter informing him that the King's army was advancing rapidly into that part of the country, and ordering him to withdraw with his troops, and he had not time to carry away the whole of his spoil with him. An evil-minded person who encountered the troopers on their march, told them that a priest had been living close by them, and that his entertainer was a papist. They lamented that this news had reached them too late, for if they had known it before, they would have hung them both to the rafters of the house. This violent youth shortly afterwards encountered the King's troops in a skirmish in the country, and attacking them resolutely

was killed by a bullet in the first onset, thus paying the penalty of his rashness, and his horsemen, who followed him, were put to flight.

The Marquis of Argyll, keeping his distance, followed the King's troops by slow marches, and was more eager to plunder the Highlands, where Montrose was enlisting soldiers, than to engage him in the field. He was preceded and followed by large convoys of provisions, and horses were sent for from all sides to convey them. When he understood that the royalists had gone away, he quickened his movements, which then gave us a great deal of trouble, for the Catholics whom he encountered, and all who took their part, were ruthlessly plundered, and one of the priests was brought into extreme peril of his life. The Catholics observed with particular reverence the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, in order to implore his assistance. The priest was living not far from the rebel army, and his friends sent him warnings to prevent his falling into any ambush through want of care, or meeting the enemy abroad. But they had not learned with sufficient accuracy the designs and movements of the rebels, and through want of caution, or treachery, on the part of some of his informants, he was directed to a place where he came upon the advanced guard of the van of the enemy.

As the priest hesitated what to do, a man who was acquainted with him, and well disposed towards him, pointed out his danger to him, and told him he must cross the river which was close at hand, in order to make his escape. It happened to be flooded, and could not be forded, but half hidden under the bank there was a boat, of which he took possession, and taking the oars into his hands, succeeded in striking

the opposite bank. He went forward among the hills and woods, a position from which he could see the whole of the armed men on their march, and saw that he was in no danger from the horsemen who closed the column, for they could not trust their horses to the swelling waves of the stream. There were some men in the band who knew the priest and were quite prepared to proceed to extremities with him, as well as to do considerable mischief to the Catholic family by whom he had been entertained. In this expedition Argyll sent two regiments to garrison Inverness. This town, situated at the mouth of the River Ness, and commanding the Moray Firth, prevented all access to Ross or the more northern part of Scotland, and closed the way against the priest when he wished either to come into that neighbourhood or the more distant countries beyond.

Nevertheless an opportunity soon presented itself of imparting the beneficial remedies of salvation to a number of persons. The King's army returned to the north with unexpected celerity, and was joined by a number of Catholics and others who favoured their cause. The army became, or promised shortly to become, a representation of every order and degree in the kingdom. The expeditions it was likely to undertake afforded a hope of reaching some more remote districts which were ordinarily very difficult of access, which a priest of our Society had long, but vainly, wanted to explore. Within a few days of his arrival he found himself eagerly welcomed, and on friendly terms with all, and a slight incident which then occurred enlarged his acquaintance. A cavalry officer who was nearly related to the chief of the Ogilvies observed him talking earnestly with a Catholic, and

suspecting that he might be a spy, anxiously asked who he was. Learning his name, he bore testimony to his zeal and good faith. Montrose himself, the commander-in-chief of the royal army, had a Catholic gentleman,[1] who had been educated by the Fathers of the Society, as his confidential secretary, and would never allow him to leave him. The Catholic soldiers openly rejoiced at the spiritual reinforcement which had joined them, and while their piety encouraged the pious, it struck terror into our insolent and boastful opponents.

Argyll had a large body of cavalry and experienced and veteran troops, and trusting in these, he did not doubt that he could easily overwhelm the King's forces at the first attack. At first, and before the engagement actually began, he seemed to have victory in his hands, for Montrose had scarcely time to set his troops in line, and he was without cavalry, while he was compelled to fight on level and open ground destitute of vegetation. The Christian soldiers, however, demanded the priest's blessing on their knees, and made the sign of the cross on their weapons and themselves, a sign which the Campbells were known to use in battle as a magical charm with deadly intent. The soldiers' wives implored the power of God upon the balls and bullets, not doubting that by such aid and assistance they would be protected against the arts of evil spirits. Their confidence was increased because it was the festival of the holy Apostles SS. Simon and Jude,[2] and they trusted that the heretics'

[1] Alexander Leith.

[2] 28th October 1644. Montrose left Strathbogie on 24th October, and marched to Fyvie Castle, which he seized suddenly. While he thought the enemy were still beyond the Grampians, they were actually encamped only about two miles from him. *Cf.* Murdoch's *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 72.

audacious contempt of the saints would be overthrown by the prayers and succour of the Blessed. These prayers and hopes were not disappointed. The enemy were driven off the field, a very large number of the rebels were wounded, and many killed—of the royalists very few.

The major of the O'Kean regiment, whose name was Christopher, was the first to lead an attack upon a walled building, which happened to be on the scene of engagement, and had been occupied by the rebels as a fortress. He succeeded in driving the enemy from it, but in doing so he received a mortal wound, and was carried off the field. He died in the midst of triumph, but the priest reconciled him by confession, and he was full of hope. His burial was attended by an unusual circumstance, for the priests publicly laid him in the grave with Catholic rites, and prayers and psalms, an instance of piety which impressed the spectators, who had been accustomed to see the funerals of Calvinists conducted like those of the Jews, without any form of prayer. On the following day the enemy returned to the field, apparently very formidable in strength, numbers, and ferocity, but did not venture to give battle. The Catholic soldiers redoubled their prayers and vows, trusting from the experience of the former day that the strong hand of God would be with them, and quite ready not only to receive the enemy's attack, but to attack him first. Argyll, who relied more on stratagem than courage, made some clever overtures to detach the higher officers and nobles from the King's forces, and was not altogether unsuccessful.[1] Men who cared but little for their religion were animated with

[1] Cf. *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 77.

less ardent love for their country. The faith and firmness of the Catholics were very conspicuous, though Argyll made a futile attempt to win them also by crafty promises.

The country known as Buchan is situated towards the east and north, and on the shores of the German Ocean, and it was from this district that Montrose proposed to march across to Kintyre, which is on the opposite side of Scotland, in the south-west. The priest accordingly prepared all that would be required to say Mass, with further supplies intended for the Irish priests. The journey would be through the mountains and in winter time; one of our Fathers arranged to go with the army, the other was to remain at his former station. This arrangement being made, not without some trouble and difficulty, the army set out.

A man of undeniable honesty, but wanting in caution, carried a letter from Argyll to the officers commanding the Irish regiments, which he was to deliver secretly. It contained ample promises that their pay should be given in full, with further rewards and honours, and that they should be sent safely back to Ireland, if they would listen to prudent advice, accept the assurances he gave them, and abandon the royal army. The officers, acting on their accustomed principle of integrity and honour, gave this letter to Montrose without reading it. The imprudent bearer of it endeavoured first to conceal, then to excuse, the fault of which he had been guilty; he was condemned to be hanged. The priest, whose attention had been directed to other matters, noticed him when he was being led out to execution, and asked permission to speak to him, which the Catholic soldiers readily

granted. He instructed him in the capital articles of faith, heard his confession, and remained with him while he underwent his sentence, which he submitted to with hope and confidence, acknowledging its justice, because in compliance with the wishes of another he had allowed himself to become the instrument of an infamous crime.

The charity of the Fathers not only opened to the dying a passage to eternal life, but seemed also to have brought health to the sick. A colonel in the regiments, who was a relative of the Marquis of Antrim, and had come over as an inducement to the Macdonalds to take part in the war, as he belonged to that clan, was too young for the fatigues of the campaign, and became seriously ill. He was carried in a litter, and the roughness of the mountain paths and fatigue of continual travelling, left him little hope of recovering his health. But having made the priest's acquaintance, he adopted him as the guardian of his health, both of soul and body, first healing the one by confession and the Holy Eucharist, and the other by a careful choice of diet, so that he soon began to feel his sickness greatly relieved. He was anxious to hear Mass frequently in his temporary quarters while on the march, and consequently took the priest for his companion, showing him remarkable courtesy and kindness. After some time he became strong enough to ride on horseback. This was not a great matter, but it was an incitement to many to seek the healing of their souls.

The army being reinforced in Badenoch, it was resolved to march through Athole. The task which now awaited the priest was far from disagreeable to him, although it involved a rather rough and difficult progress through the mountains. They had forty miles to traverse, before

the end of November, without interrupting the march, with no convenience for repose in the middle of the day, and no house on the road. The mountains, traversed in summer only by deer stalkers, were now covered with deep snow, and the soldiers had to creep along the hillsides, or climb up them, or roll down them, for walking was impossible. What made it worse was the necessity of leading the horses, which carried the baggage over the tops of the hills. They often stuck fast in the drifts of snow, or fell into pitfalls of clay and water occasioned by innumerable hidden springs.

They were assisted by no fewer than eighty guides, who were well acquainted with the footpaths when they were visible. But the nights were as dark as pitch, the air was filled with thick mist like hoar frost, and neither moon nor stars could be seen. At last the guides acknowledged that they did not know which way to go. Added to all this was the utter prostration of strength which overtakes men who are not very strong in long journeys among the hills. In this case a draught of water would often restore the exhausted energies. Among the lower slopes of the hills there were streams and pools, which they had to enter on one side, and emerge from on the other, over precipitous rocks. When the heights were scaled, hills beyond hills rose above them, still to be ascended, and almost perpendicular, so that they had to climb up them on their hands and feet. The soldiers, as well as they could, administered cold water to the priest in an earthen jar, seeing him out of breath and exhausted with the toil of the ascent.

There was at one time an apprehension of what would have been worse still, for the colonel and the captains began to suspect that they had been led

out of their way by traitors, and drawing their daggers, were on the point of assassinating the guides, only the evident good faith and sincerity of the men, and the courage they had exhibited in the course of the campaign, took away all real ground for suspicion. The sufferings of the women and young children occasioned the greatest anxiety to the soldiers, who were unable to go back to aid them, owing to the darkness and their ignorance of the road. A man of ingenuity and dauntless courage, Colonel Thomas Lachlan, discovered light in the darkness, and offered himself as guide. He called back one of the guides and mounted him on a horse, to aid him in the difficulties of the way, and declaring that the river which ran close by must flow down to Athole, which was the destination they aimed at, followed its course, taking the priest as his companion by his side, and thus in the middle of the night safely reached the royal garrison town of Blair. A few men only kept up with him. What was extraordinary, the rider, a strong and robust man, lost his life during this march. The women and children arrived safely during the night, or on the following morning, and very little of the baggage was lost.

As soon as the troops had been reviewed on their arrival in Athole, the priest began to consider to whom it might be in his power to bring the light of truth and piety, and he was soon busily employed. He had before his eyes a collection of men gathered from every coast and portion of the kingdom. There were young men from Orkney, who had fought in England on the King's side; and from Uist, a long tract of islands disjoined from the mainland on the west, there came a man of great reputation, the chief of the Macranalds,

who was accompanied by a strong force, among whom there were men of orthodox piety. He was himself not adverse to the faith, and came from a branch of the stock of the Macdonalds, to whom he ascribed the honour of his descent. There were men from the English border, and from Lothian, from Galloway in the south-west in smaller numbers, from the neighbourhood of Stirling, Menteith, Perth, Strathearn, Angus, the centre of the kingdom, Kintyre within sight of Ireland, from the Highlands, Ardnamurchan, Knoidart, and Moidart, Lochaber, Badenoch, Glencoe, Mar, Strathavon, Strathspey, Strathisla, and Glenesk. The isle of Skye, the largest of the Hebrides, sent the flower of the youth of the Macdonalds, and Moray and Buchan, in the east and north, furnished a number of noble young men, full of ardour and goodwill, though little accustomed to excursions in the Highlands.

Alexander Macdonald, the commander of the regiments from Ireland, was conspicuous for respect for priests and piety towards God. He held a high view of the priestly office, such as is commonly held throughout the Christian world, but has wonderfully gone out of fashion among the Calvinists. At table, where he was present by invitation, he publicly desired to have the benediction pronounced in the Catholic manner in Latin. The guests were impressed with this unaccustomed ceremony and the form of words, and began to murmur among themselves, but hearing the colonels and captains give the response with marked reverence and respect, they said to one another: "This must be the priest who directs his worship, who uttered this prayer." Wonder and admiration developed into reverence. It became the custom to ask the intercession of the priest to obtain any favour from the com-

manding officers of the regiments, or to soften the violence of the soldiers and the terror they occasioned. The poorer classes of the people, at his suggestion, received money for the supplies they furnished to the army, while the richer had to keep the soldiers without receiving any payment in return. The King, in fact, sent the army no pay whatever, so that the war had to be carried on under entirely new conditions and on a new method.

There were in Athole a number of gentlemen of some note and consideration, who were Catholics, but had not seen a priest for a very long time, and they were now, to their great comfort, admitted to the rites of the church. They derived their descent and honours from the race of the Macdonalds, but were called Robertson, and formed a numerous party in the neighbourhood. They were much edified at seeing the commander of the regiments receive the most Holy Eucharist after duly coming to confession, and fasting three days in the week, taking no food until evening, which he did either in thanksgiving for the victories which the divine assistance had enabled him to win, or to obtain success for the extremely difficult expedition which he had undertaken in the depth of winter. A man of note from the island of Uist went down on his knees in thick snow in his ardour to cleanse his soul by confession, on the festival day of St Andrew the Apostle, the Patron of Scotland.

The march of the army was in reality directed upon Argyllshire, and it was said that when the Marquis of Argyll heard this he first laughed, and then acknowledged that he would give anything he had, rather than it should take place. His flatterers were accustomed to say it was a decree of heaven that the men of Argyll should

acknowledge and worship no deity but MacCallum More, the name by which he is regarded among them as a kind of local deity, and on this account they are not willing to admit foreigners into their territory.

When it was known that our colleague was to say Mass on the feast of Saint Francis Xavier, Macdonald accepted the omen as a pledge that the expedition would turn out according to their wishes, by the help of God, His Mother, and all the Saints, and that it was as if Xavier would go with them. There is no part of Scotland into which our Fathers have not penetrated, except Argyllshire, and Albany which leads to it. On this account the Father looked forward with the greater eagerness to this expedition. The Campbells hold this country, and no persuasion or promise has ever been able to detach them from the cause of the rebels. A well-known lake, Loch Tay, washes this country on both sides, and from the lake there flows the river of the same name, which is the largest in Scotland, and the rebels resolved to use every exertion to prevent the royalists passing it. The river was flooded and they knew it was impossible to ford it. The enemy destroyed all the boats, they had not the power to build a bridge, and no means could be contrived to get the army across the river without great loss. It was therefore divided, and marched along both shores of the lake. The country was a well-known stronghold of the rebels, but the greater part of the inhabitants had taken refuge in fortresses upon the islands in the lake. Under these circumstances the royalists burned the crops in the fields, a certainly just reprisal on the Campbells, who had carried flame and havoc into the north, not after a declaration of war, but solely because they themselves had taken the Covenant. They not only burnt the house of Macranald,

the Catholic chief whom I have mentioned, but even his orchard, leaving no trace of human habitation on the spot. They used the same violence towards the chief of the house of Ogilvie, the Earl of Airlie, pulling down and then burning the dwellings of his followers, as well as the lands they cultivated.

The expedition became more difficult as they drew nearer to the army of Argyll. A council of war was held in upper Albany, at the place called Breadalbane, that is, broad Albion, the ancient name of Scotland, and the summit from which the country seems to expand itself and extend in both directions, to the east and west. Albany formerly, and not very long since, gave the title of Duke to the reigning family, being generally borne by one of the sons of the reigning sovereign. Towards the east, Scotland can be traversed in nearly every direction, but is impassable nearly everywhere towards the west, especially to horsemen, from Strathnairn [1] on the northern coast to Cunninghame in the south-west.[2] The centre of Scotland is also divided by ranges of mountains, some of which are almost impassable. In summer and early autumn they are frequented for the purpose of hunting the stags and shooting the wild fowl, and men of rank engage eagerly in these pursuits, but in winter they are covered with immense masses of snow, through which it is impossible to find even a footpath. Argyll is the wildest country of all, and there is a proverbial saying, that it is far enough to follow plunderers to Loch Tay, for that is the first obstacle encountered, and seems to have *Ne plus ultra* written upon it. And even before it is reached, a short distance takes many days to traverse, with no regular road, with continually alternating ascents and descents, and long detours,

[1] Nairn. [2] Ayrshire.

and numberless streams to be crossed, equally difficult for ferry or ford. There are very few trees to conceal or adorn the landscape. There is no track which the traveller can follow, except along the shore, and this is frowned upon by rocks, and interrupted by pools of water alternately spreading and subsiding, and the whole region seems to devour the wayfarer rather than carry him through it. The soil is full of caves and holes, and barren spots, or covered with mosses, with innumerable bog-holes of black and brackish water, quite unadapted for the plough, though in places turned up with a hoe, the hillsides being low and abrupt. You continually come upon lakes, the waters of which are kept in movement and made difficult to cross by the streams which flow between the higher hills. In short, it is scarcely possible to find a practicable pathway. Those who are acquainted with the nature of this region could say a great deal more about it, but no one could fully describe all its features. It seemed at first sight the height of folly and rashness to attempt to march an army through such a country in the depth of winter, where the snow alone is sufficient to overwhelm multitudes of human beings.

The Catholic regiments, however, and their leader, Alexander Macdonald, longed earnestly to fight it out with the Campbells, who had long been the fiercest persecutors and, whenever they could, the murderers and assassins of the Catholics, in the north of Ireland and the whole of Scotland. The entire conduct of the war, and the whole hazard of their cause, turned upon this single point, and they considered that they would effect nothing worthy of their efforts unless they crushed the Campbells, devastated Argyll with fire and sword, and administered a terrible and telling chastisement to

this hideous receptacle of bandits, plunderers, incendiaries, and cut-throats. The Campbells must be thoroughly intimidated, and their asylum reached and overthrown, or else there would never be any safety in any part of the Highlands. The King's subjects would not flock to his standards or accept his service, if these assassins, always ready to rush out from their hiding-places for murder and booty, were not hunted down in their strongholds and dens of crime. In fact the power exercised by Argyll was of the greatest possible importance to the rebels. He had been named by the King governor of the Hebrides, and exercised there an authority unknown before. The people of the Lowlands to the east are kept in continual dread of the Campbell plunderers, who are always able to make sudden inroads upon them, and retreat to their own country, where they cannot be followed; the haunts of the robbers being considered inaccessible. All the Catholics, at the council of war, agreed that it was necessary to invade the territory of Argyll.

A young gentleman, Sir Thomas Ogilvie, son of the Earl of Airlie, was of opinion that the measure should have the sanction of the priest, and desired to hear from his own lips his opinion on these questions. Supposing the army able to enter the country, would it be possible to retrace their steps, and get back? There were no roads, and the soldiers might be buried in snow. The army could only extricate itself from a hostile country by a rapid movement, and this would be impeded by the nature of the ground, and the rivers and inlets, from which it would be in the power of the inhabitants to withdraw every means of transport by water. As the priest was well acquainted, by long experience, with the weather in every part of Scotland, and the course

of the seasons, what hopes could he hold out to them?

To this the priest replied that as long as the wind blew from the east, it was impossible for any great storm to arise in the west, and they had, therefore, nothing to fear from the violence of the winter. They had two guides who were well acquainted with the routes in every part of Argyllshire, and the soldiers would shrink from no toil or peril, because the expedition was undertaken at their instance, and they were earnestly bent on carrying it out. The council of war met, therefore, a second time, and it was unanimously resolved, amid general congratulation and rejoicing, to invade Argyll.

It seemed to tend to the greater glory of God that it was by a Catholic army that the persecutor was to be assailed and crushed; that the standard of religion was to be carried into a land whence religion had been wholly expelled, and that the men who had harassed and attacked good and harmless neighbours, in defiance of right and justice, should be destroyed by the just retribution of war. The event justified these expectations, and responded to these prayers.

The army quitted Lower Albany on 11th December 1644. On the first day of their march they came upon a lake between two mountains, on which was an island, with a castle garrisoned by the Campbells.[1] The army had to pass along a very narrow road close to this castle, and the garrison, though with a small number of guns, would have been able to destroy them to a man. But they managed to take the castle, on the previous night, by a clever stratagem of MacNab, a chief of the

[1] Possibly Loch Dochart which lies on the base of Ben More, "The Great Hill." Near the west end of Loch Dochart is a small island containing the ruins of Dochart Castle.

Macdonalds. He went alone, close up to the castle, and requested to speak to the Campbells. He told them that the King's army was in Albany, and the whole country in flames, but if they would send him out a boat, he would show them in what manner the burning could be put a stop to. This piece of advice commended itself to the Campbells, who came to shore in a boat.

The MacNabs, who were in hiding, rushed out and seized the boat, and eighteen strong men immediately assailed the fort, throwing into the water the men who had first come, and who endeavoured to draw the boat on land, then they killed the men who came to oppose them at the gates, on which the others surrendered. No harm was done to the women and children.

On the following day the castle saluted Montrose and the army, as they passed in perfect safety, with a friendly salute and a flourish of trumpets; the King's flag flying from the walls as a token of submission.

From Albany they proceeded to Glenorchy, which belonged to a very powerful chief of the Campbell race, and passing along the side of the lake of that name, the army reached Inveraray, the castle of the Marquis of Argyll, before he was aware of their approach. He did not wait for them, but quickly went away over the estuary which is called Loch Fyne, which is in fact an arm of the sea, and for the rest of the expedition the enemy gave no trouble, except that on one occasion, the vanguard of the armies put some of the Campbells to flight in a skirmish. The houses of the rebels were burnt in just reprisals of war, but clemency was extended to the people scattered among the Campbells, who had been drawn into the iniquitous Covenant, not by any will of their own, but by an authority which they were powerless to resist.

It was a pleasant sight to see a few priests and a small body of Catholic troops joining in the celebration of Mass in the territories of a chief who had formerly resolved upon the extermination of the Catholics, and hoped that the very name of a priest would be unknown in Scotland.

It is worth while recording the manner in which the soldiers, when on the march, erected an altar. Neither table nor plank could be found, for the inhabitants left their houses quite deserted in their flight, or filled with a multitude of utensils which were of no use, so that the colonels and officers established their quarters in barns or empty dwellings. They placed a quantity of sheaves of corn in such a position as to form a kind of table, and breaking down the door-posts, put upon it such pieces of wood as were smooth and well fashioned, as a resting-place for the portable altar stone which was laid upon them, and hung up their plaids at the back, and on both sides, to prevent the wind, often very violent in the hollows at the bases of the hills, blowing the fabric away. There was a scarcity of salt, and some men of remarkable piety were commissioned to procure and take care of it, for the purpose of consecrating the holy water, which they insisted on having done every day Mass was celebrated, there being no vessels suitable for conveying it on the march. Guards and sentinels were posted at the doors to prevent the priest being disturbed by a crowd while offering the Sacrifice, and when the buildings were burnt, they took care to get the priest away as soon as the Mass was finished, before the flames broke out.

Although the army passed through a very wild country in the depth of winter, it never suffered from exposure to the storm. On 24th December the sky

was filled with clouds threatening snow, but there was, nevertheless, clear sunshine on the following day. Having traversed the Argyll country, and burnt the houses and fields, they settled and encamped in the neighbouring land of Lorne, where Montrose gave the soldiers an interval of rest, which was very acceptable to the priest as well, for saying Mass. The force had been divided in traversing the hostile territories of the Campbells, and re-united in Lorne. The colonels, officials, and soldiers endeavoured to rival one another in zeal and piety, for which so great and joyful a festival supplied ample material.

In this year, for the first time since the churches were destroyed by the madness of the Calvinists, at the first outbreak in Scotland of the heresy which has continued to increase in strength and volume ever since, the standard of true religion has been carried in triumph in this part of the country. It was the first time priests had ever been seen there, since that event, and although they were unable to bring their obstinate persecutors to the Church, they showed themselves able at any rate to contend with them successfully, as will be more fully shown in the occurrences of the year following.

A very unusual evidence of divine protection was afforded while the army was encamped in Lorne. A violent storm of wind was blowing from the south-west, so strong as to throw down many buildings all across the mainland of Scotland, to the eastern coast, and in the Highlands. But when they were about to cross the sea at Dunstaffnage,[1] a strong castle, once, three hundred years back, the residence of the kings of

[1] Three miles from Oban, upon a promontory where the waters of Loch Etive debouch into Loch Linnhe.

Scotland, and now occupied by the Campbells, such a lull ensued that not even a breath of air was heard to blow.

Not a few of the Campbells wrote supplicatory letters to Alexander Macdonald imploring him to spare their lands. All these letters he showed to the priest. He did not refuse clemency in any case, but made it a condition that they should abjure the impious Covenant at all costs, and join the King's army. They are a crafty race, savage and tyrannical when in power, but abject and timid in defeat, and faithless even while they ask for mercy.

At this moment, all the toil and suffering of the army seemed to have been thrown away. They were shut in at Dunstaffnage[1] by the arm of the sea, and could neither go forward nor retreat. The country behind them was all burnt, and no provisions were to be obtained. The road to Albany was narrow, between lofty hills, with a rapid river and a strong fortress in the way. There were no boats, and no materials to make them of. Yet the Almighty provided a means of escape from these perils.

The Prior of Ardchattan,[2] who retained his ancient title, and is a Macdonald on the mother's side, though a Campbell by paternal descent, and also holds the lands on both sides of the Connell Sound, engaged to supply boats, on condition that his lands were not burned. A soldier who was a carpenter, exploring the shores of the bay, found a boat easily capable of containing forty men. This was soon repaired and launched, and three other boats, which would hold five men each,

[1] Dunstaffnage Castle is at the entrance of Loch Etive.

[2] On the north side of Loch Etive are seen the ruins of Ardchattan Priory, overgrown with ivy and trees.

were procured in addition. By means of these, the army crossed the sea in two days. There was no wind, the sun shone brightly, the nights were lighted up with stars and moon. The horses, and other animals, which had been taken from the enemy, and were required for the sustenance of the troops, swam across. Some of them were carried away by the tide, and these were recovered by the men in garrison in Dunstaffnage, and thus returned to the enemy. Not a single man was drowned, or was in any danger of drowning.

Before closing an account of the event of this year in Scotland, we must add a word about the struggle of our Fathers with a different foe.

In the east of Scotland, Father James Macbreck had been using his utmost endeavours to fight the plague, which had been brought out of England into Scotland in merchants' goods. It had spread extensively in the earlier part of the year, but with the advance of winter, its progress was slower and less evident. Under these circumstances, it seemed preferable for the Catholics to go to the priest, rather than for the priest to go to them, and that they should do so in a place safe from infection. Next year the pestilence raged openly, and could neither be kept under, nor got rid of.

During this year 1644, as during the year which followed, the following four priests were on the Scottish Mission, Father James Macbreck, Father William Grant, Father John Smith, and Father Andrew Leslie.

CHAPTER VI

FROM INVERLOCHY TO PHILIPHAUGH IN 1645

Father Macbreck's Letter—continued

Introductory Note

Anxious to reach Lochaber and to compel the Campbells to give battle, Montrose crossed an arm of the sea at Dunstaffnage, and after a most difficult march reached Lochaber on the 8th of January (p. 318). Thence the army removed to the head of Loch Ness, in warm and pleasant weather. Argyll, meanwhile, advanced to Inverlochy. From the head of Loch Ness, Montrose proceeded over the mountain heights, by a route little frequented, executed a sudden march to Inverlochy, and attacked the rebels on the 2nd of February 1645. Argyll watched the engagement from the water, witnessed the destruction of his followers, and then fled with oar and sail and hastened to Edinburgh (p. 321).

After the victory, Alan MacIldue, Lord of Lochaber, accompanied by a hundred Camerons, came to the commander of the royal forces to beg for peace (p. 323). Montrose imitating the example of the rebels, drew up and proposed to them a form of oath by which they bound themselves to be the faithful subjects of the King (p. 324).

Montrose then proceeded to summon the remaining clans in the north. The Earl of Seaforth having refused service in the King's army, was forcibly brought to the camp and kept in charge of a colonel, until he should take the oath of fidelity to the King (p. 326). The heads of the rebel party, fearing loss or injury from the proceedings, came to Montrose and were admitted to the allegiance and military service of their sovereign (p. 327).

The joy of the Catholic soldiers was increased by the accession to their ranks of the young Marquis of Huntly. There were among his troopers many brave young men who were Catholics. This had the effect of drawing Montrose more closely to the Catholics, for he

found them particularly firm in their fidelity and allegiance, so that he ended by attaching them to his staff and household (p. 333).

While the army was on its march through the centre of the kingdom, the Moray rebels broke out from their garrison at Brora and began to plunder the possessions of loyal subjects of the Crown, those of Catholics with special cruelty (pp. 334, 335). As the rebel army continued to lay waste the lands, especially of Catholics, in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal forces, and both armies had for some time ineffectually pursued one another, they at length resolved to have recourse to battle (p. 336). The engagement was fought at Auldearn in Moray, 9th of May 1645, and it was reported that nearly three thousand of the rebels were killed, but of the Royalists eight soldiers and one captain only (p. 339).

This victory was far from bringing the Royalists either safety or repose. The rebel army in the south at once moved northward, as if to afford the Royalists a fresh harvest of suffering and toil. Montrose wisely determined to break the strength of the enemy by at once attacking a third army of the rebels which had been raised in Fife, and which was preparing to lay waste the lands of the Royalists (p. 340).

The rebels had withdrawn into a fortified place of safety, and Montrose hastened towards them with forced marches from Badenoch towards Strathnairn, moving night and day. A battle was fought at Alford in Mar, near the river Don, on the 2nd of July 1645. The Royalists were again victorious.

The rebels thus defeated in a fourth engagement in the north of Scotland, left that part of the country in peace. The priests accordingly began to renew their ministrations (p. 344).

The rebels in the south made great efforts to renew the war (p. 347), but Alexander Macdonald raised a levy in Kintyre and the islands; Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart brought a strong regiment from the Islands of Mull and Jura, other island chieftains joined with detachments from the north, and the young Marquis of Huntly raised a strong body of horsemen among the Gordons and others. The royal troops were thus able to occasion considerable anxiety to the rebels in the south. After many skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought on the 15th of August 1645 at Kilsyth. The rebels were more than nine thousand men, yet they gave way almost at the first attack (p. 349). Scarcely one or two Catholics and Royalists were killed, while the slain on the rebels' side amounted to 4500, as was shown by the accounts drawn up when they were buried (p. 350).

The advantage gained by this victory extended far. The cities of Ayr and Irvine surrendered at once on the first sight of Alexander Macdonald. The provost of Edinburgh and a deputation of the magistracy waited on Montrose, with a supplication for peace, and the governor of the prisons surrendered all his prisoners (p. 351).

Meanwhile, a terrible pestilence raged at Edinburgh, where 360 families only escaped the scourge. At Stirling the pestilence broke out three times, and there were hardly any inhabitants left in the place (p. 352).

At this juncture the chiefs of the south, prompted by envy, did all in their power to get rid of the small band of Catholics which constituted the real strength of the army. Macdonald went into Kintyre, the young Marquis of Gordon went to the north, and Montrose who had been detained on the border by the hope of uniting his forces to those of the King, was, by the unfortunate battle of Philiphaugh, driven back to the north, having lost the greatest part of his Catholic soldiers (pp. 354, 356).

The few Catholics who remained under his command were formed by Montrose into his own bodyguard (p. 354), and he quickly assembled a troop of horse with the addition of some veteran horsemen from Athole. In the north the Gordons and other Catholic chiefs of rank and influence decided to follow Montrose in a new struggle. Montrose proceeded by forced marches to Lennox. The Feast of All Saints was celebrated at Loch Lomond with great devotion by all the soldiers, and funeral rites were held in commemoration of all the faithful departed, and for repose of the souls of the slain (p. 355).

The plague compelled the rebels to retire, and Montrose moved northward once more, resolved to pass the winter in Moray, and to attempt the siege of Inverness (p. 356).

The transport of the army was the subject of congratulations and thanksgiving to everyone. The priests offered their prayers and the Holy Sacrifice. The soldiers and their leader rejoiced, for they were now transferred to a spot where they had a chance of engaging with their enemies in open fight, instead of the prospect of drowning in the sea.

Argyll was in no hurry to assemble his land forces

but he sent a vessel armed with small brass guns to attack the camp of the Royalists, which had been established close to the shore. This ship was wrecked on the rocks, and remained a prey to the waves. This incident gave the islanders and others an opportunity of displaying their real sentiments. The chief of Appin, in further Lorne, who is a Stuart, sent a contingent of a hundred and forty young men of the Stuart clan, all of good birth. These the priest found full of courtesy and good will, and very unlike the Campbells, who are bitter enemies of the Catholic Faith.

From Lorne the army retired to Glencoe, which is subject to the family of Johnston, a branch of the Macdonalds, who are not averse to Catholic customs. A man of note among them, being questioned on the subject of religion, repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation in the ancient language of the Scots. The Calvinist preachers have never found their way into these parts, and not one of them was present with the army, in which only Catholic priests were recognised.

The army, however, had not yet escaped from all its difficulties, especially from one often anticipated and talked of. This was the dangerous pass of Glencoe, which they had not yet entered, and which is reached only by a single passage between precipitous rocks, and has only one exit. The mountains are so high that only eagles' flight can reach them. An arm of the sea extends at their feet, and into this a deep and rapid river flows, too deep for fording after rain. This is signified by the name of the place, which means "moist, with tears or rain." The danger was the greater because copious showers of rain fell on the night the camp was pitched there, and the streams could not be crossed.

Lightning gleamed and flashed, and the tops of the mountains seemed covered with smoke; weather very unusual in winter, and in the month of January.

Montrose, who commanded, did not conceal his anxiety. His exit might be stopped by a very small number of men, almost without danger to themselves. He had no boats, and such an expedition as he had undertaken, under these circumstances, in the depth of winter, was almost without precedent. He was grieved to think that it might have a disastrous end, after so many efforts. But if weeping endured for a night, joy came in the morning. Though it was the wildest and least frequented spot in Scotland, boats were nevertheless found. The clouds cleared away, the day dawned, and the night which followed that day's unparalleled march brought all to the happy, wished-for end. The army reached Lochaber[1] on the 8th of January, a country certainly somewhat difficult of access, but not pathless, being open, and adapted to sending messages, as well as for fighting battles, and very celebrated for those of ancient days. Montrose made great exertions to be the first to get there, and compel the Campbells to give battle.

There is a very lofty mountain in this part of Scotland, some miles in extent from the foot to the summit, and which can only be ascended by a single pathway. It is called Ben Nevis, from the valley of Glen Nevis, which lies beneath it. It is washed by an estuary, with a bay capable of bearing ships of very large size. In former days, ships used to come thither from all parts of the world, and vessels of great strength are built there even now.

The priest had here an opportunity of observing the

[1] Between Loch M'Kaig, Glenmore, and Glengarry.

characters and disposition of many of his companions. He had formed an intimate acquaintance with the same Macranald, the Fair, whom I have already referred to. The family of Macranald which, as I have said, is a branch of the Macdonalds, and is not opposed to orthodox piety, holds sway in the district of Lochaber, both north and south, and has numerous followers, besides being strengthened by blood relationship with the inhabitants of many of the neighbouring islands. The territory of the chief of Glengarry extends northward, and reaches as far as the Isle of Skye, and the laird of Keppoch has considerable possessions near Ben Nevis. The rest of the inhabitants of Lochaber are Camerons, and are less civilised and less susceptible of piety. In this province, as in Lorne, the priests said Mass in the soldiers' quarters, as they are accustomed to do in Catholic countries, in the presence not only of the Irish regiments, but of many men from different parts of Scotland as well. Thence the army removed to the source of Loch Ness, in warm and pleasant weather. This lake is never frozen, but the waters flow freely even in the coldest weather, and the snow will not lie on the ground within a mile of its bank. But if the region is warm, so also is the temper of the inhabitants, who are ardent Calvinists, having become obstinately imbued with these sentiments by a preacher who was sent here for banishment by King James the Sixth.

Argyll, meanwhile, followed slowly and endeavoured to induce the people living near Loch Ness, who are Murrays, and form the garrison of Inverness, to attack the royal army from the north. He himself advanced to Inverlochy, the principal place in Lochaber,[1] formerly a strong castle and royal residence, and just recently

[1] North of Fort William.

occupied by Montrose. Here the just judgment of God exacted vengeance from the bitter enemies of the Catholic Religion. The two armies prepared for battle in very different manners. Argyll having received reinforcements, was attended by a numerous body of Campbells, and with pride occasioned by the strength of his forces, counted on a certain triumph, not only before he had conquered, but even before he fought. He summoned to his camp a number of judges from the courts in Edinburgh, and Calvinist preachers from the pulpits of the same city, to view the mangled bodies of a few Catholics and their adherents, chiefly camp followers and servants rather than soldiers, who had been killed when under the command of Montrose, and testify and report what they had seen to the rebel Council. The Catholics earnestly implored the help of God with prayer and fasting, and the intercession of the ever-Virgin Mother of God, and of the Saints, more particularly the virgin Saint Brigid, whose festival was then being kept.

From the head of Loch Ness Montrose executed a sudden march to Inverlochy, and attacked the rebel army, proceeding by a route little frequented over the mountain heights. The snow was beginning to melt, and the river had overflowed its banks. The Catholic soldiers observed the strictest abstinence, marching by night, and imploring the assistance of heaven in the daytime. Their prayers were not unheard. On the Festival of the Purification [1] of the holy Virgin Mary, the enemy, who blasphemed the Mother of God, were killed and cut off, almost to a man.

Alan MacIldue,[2] chief of the Camerons, a clever man nearly a hundred years of age, repeated to Argyll an

[1] 2nd February 1645. [2] Or MacIldowie.

ancient prophecy, that a decisive defeat would be sustained at Inverlochy, but he only laughed at it as a fable. Nevertheless the chief earnestly entreated him not to trust himself in the battle, and found him not unwilling to listen to the advice. The Marquis watched the engagement from the water, with the judges and preachers, and witnessed the destruction and slaughter of his followers, and then fled with oar and sail, although only just before he had drawn his sword to strike terror into his men, and urge them to the combat.

The Catholic soldiers were very differently led. When Montrose reviewed his army, after having placed it in order of battle, he found the men on their knees, with the priests behind them imploring the divine protection, signing themselves and their weapons with the cross, entreating the celestial aid of the Queen of Heaven, fervently repeating the names of Saint Patrick, the patron of Ireland, and of Saint Brigid. They approached the enemy noiselessly, and with firm and quiet step. The enemy opened fire upon them from a distance, but being attacked hand to hand with the sword, they turned and fled precipitately in all directions, and did not show their faces again. They were, however, shut in by the lofty mountain on one side, and by the sea on the other. Those who were near enough to get to the ships rushed into them in such numbers as to convert their only chance of safety into a quicker means of death.

Argyll sailed away with all possible speed, and hastened to Edinburgh. He attributed the loss of some of his men, in his report to the Council, to treason and the malice of some one or other. But a few days afterwards, one or two superior officers and a captain, all of

whom had been set at liberty, told the whole truth as it occurred. Although at first the story was not believed, it was soon substantiated by the narratives given in private letters, and the day is now everywhere famous. It was another remarkable indication that the victory was won by the interposition of divine assistance, that some considerable bodies of men from Athole, Badenoch, and Moray, whom Montrose had sent away on leave, and who were appointed to rejoin the army on that day, did not come into camp until the night following the battle. Also the lord of the islands of Mull and Jura, the knight Sir Lachlan Maclean, a man of high rank and distinction, who had it in his power to bring a regiment of very efficient soldiers, came in person and was present in the engagement, but brought only forty men with him. He had, in fact, come in a hurry to greet Montrose, and had only just arrived, so that the victory was everywhere ascribed principally to the Catholics.

But this was not what they told themselves. They had no doubt fought well, but it was said repeatedly among them that the right Hand of God had thus dealt valiantly with the heretics, and struck terror into the proud blasphemers, while it had imparted strength to the orthodox, though few in number, weak in military strength, and ill supplied. The prisoners taken in the battle were the first to acknowledge that they had been seized with so great a panic at sight of the Royalists and Papists, that their weapons fell from their hands.

The Catholics have even since celebrated their triumph by a three days' fast, the first for the victory at Perth, the second in memory of that at Aberdeen, the third for the battle of Inverlochy, with the addition,

by way of thanksgiving, of donations of alms in proportion to their slender resources.

The victory was followed by a remarkable circumstance. Alan MacIldue, who was now styled Lord of Lochaber, and who had never before been subdued by any art or any force, after taking refuge in a castle on an inaccessible island, came to the commander of the royal forces to beg for peace. He came attended by a very considerable retinue of armed men, consisting of a hundred Camerons, some carrying fire-arms, and others broad-swords and bows and arrows, and all dressed alike, in the midst of whom he took his place. He was a man of very advanced age, eminent for his influence, his wisdom, and his fame. This mark of respect greatly added to the effect of the victory, in which four hundred men of his nation had taken part, fighting in the ranks of the royal army, under the guidance of his son. The field of battle presented a very extraordinary spectacle, from the number of bodies of tall men, principally Campbells, which lay there, not all killed by their first wound. They were left long unburied, the people of the neighbourhood not being sufficiently numerous for the task, and it was said that most of them lay till they were torn by dogs, and then only half-interred. Only three of the Royalist soldiers were killed, one of them a captain, and two others who received mortal wounds.

Alexander Macdonald obtained this advantage by his piety towards God, that he was enabled to save from a terrible death his father, and his two brothers, who together with a Catholic gentleman of note in Ireland, were all kept loaded with iron chains in a strong castle on Loch Awe, in Argyllshire. Argyll himself always pretended that he had not actually been beaten, though

he acknowledged he might have been. The Catholic soldiers from this time forward were always formidable to the rebels, and beloved and honoured by the brave and good, and when the event of this battle became known, men joined the royal standard in larger numbers. The young Colonel Macdonald greeted the priest with grateful and joyous words, having found himself able to wield his sword, lead his men in battle, and pursue the flying enemy, though a short time before he had scarcely been able to bear the journey, even when carried in a litter.

Montrose determined to imitate the example of the rebels, and adopt the mode they had instituted, in order to draw them over to the King's cause. He drew up a form of oath which he proposed to them, by which they bound themselves to be faithful subjects of the King, and never to join the rebel party. As a pledge of sincerity, he said nothing about religion or heresy, which enabled many straightforward and candid men to take the oath without hesitation. He considered that Catholics enlightened by the orthodox faith would always readily testify their obedience to their lawful sovereign, and accordingly from such he exacted no other bond of their fidelity. The rebels exacted from all their followers the abjuration of the Catholic Faith and confession of heresy, required them to fight against the King, or any other enemy they were required to oppose, with their lives and their goods, and to spare neither parent, relative, nor any other person whatever.

Having ascertained through the means of a Catholic, who acted as his correspondent and secretary, that in the priest's opinion the oath was suitable to the circumstances and the times, and the men with whom he had to deal, Montrose then proceeded to exact it from them

all. He had learned by experience that the priest's advice was worth following, and often turned out happily, and at a sign from him the soldiers would shrink from no duty, however arduous. Finally, Montrose recognised that the priest bore him so much regard and confided in him so fully, that he in turn might be trusted to render every possible assistance with perfect fidelity and constancy.

What had been achieved was something almost greater than victory and triumph. An expedition in the depth of winter had been carried out successfully. Incredible sufferings had been endured, and in spite of cold and hunger, almost impassable roads, mountains, rivers, and arms of the sea had been bravely overcome. Had not the campaign been completed, had not the soldiers been actually seen after their return, no one would have believed that the thing could have been done. The greatest wonder of all was that the Fathers had come back in good health, after such food as they had been accustomed to on their march. The road was too rough for them to carry any provisions with them, and they were uncertain whether there would be anything to eat when the day's toil was over. The flesh was generally cooked as soon as it was killed, and they ate their food without salt from the beginning of the expedition. Owing to the frost, the water they drank was full of pieces of ice. After the first few days, there was no bread, a privation which was somewhat severely felt at breakfast, because they had only butter and cheese. The men walked for four months over rough stones and rocks, or ice, or through thick and thorny woods, with worn-out shoes, many of them only made of skins of animals freshly killed, like sandals. The horses' hoofs were worn to pieces. The soldiers' dress

was not merely worn, but absolutely ragged, and the priest was daily seen among them in an old, well-worn garment which could scarcely hold together. The greatest difficulty of all was to understand how they could have kept up their health on food cooked without salt, which is especially injurious when there is nothing but water to drink.

Montrose then proceeded to summon the remaining clans in the north, and endeavoured to obtain the allegiance of the Earl of Seaforth, who exercised a wide supremacy in Ross, and who had lately begun to take his place among the great nobles of the kingdom. He, with his followers, the Mackenzies, had been endowed by the King with large revenues and honours, being placed in charge of the rents of the crown lands in Ross, the forests in the same country, and the deer, which are of large size, and very numerous, to prevent their being killed by anyone who had not licence to do so, so that he was, in a sense, a guardian of the King's pleasure in the chase. Nevertheless he refused service in the army, on the ground that Catholic soldiers held the higher places in it, until he was assailed as the Campbells had been, and forcibly brought to the camp. There he was kept in charge of a Catholic colonel, until he should take the oath of fidelity required by all subjects to their sovereign.

The people of Moray were defended by the Spey, an extremely rapid river, towards the west, which was as good as a rampart and a garrison together, and mocked at the King's troops, until they saw that the regiments had penetrated into the heart of their country, before they knew they had attempted to enter it.

The two priests met once more in the Spey country, but without advantage for the inhabitants. The

Catholics here are much scattered, and the priest was extremely anxious to make sure that any losses which the people living near them might happen to sustain, should not be imputed to the action of the priests or of the Catholics.

There lived in Strathspey, as the region is called, a rebel leader of singularly obstinate character and pertinacious, to the utmost extent of his energy and industry, who seemed born to manage and promote the wiles and stratagems of Argyll, and who regarded the Royalists with contempt and scorn. He had endeavoured by a trick, in the previous year, to shake the allegiance of the colonels in the King's army.

The army returned victorious, and the general in command resolved to burn and destroy everything within his power by way of reprisals of war. Those who found themselves dependent upon his clemency and mercy made the priest their intercessor, as their last refuge in their misery. The heads of the rebel party, fearing loss or injury from the proceedings, came to him, and earnestly implored his advice and assistance. He pointed out to them that the only way of preserving their lives and property was by submission to the King's authority. They then took their petition to the Marquis of Montrose, who is a man of great kindness of heart, much more earnestly desirous of the safety than the destruction of friend or foe, and they sought, and were admitted, as subjects, to the allegiance and military service of their sovereign, laying all the blame of their rebellion on the obstinate lord, whose violent proceedings had been unjustly attributed to them.

This was a conspicuous proof of the happy influence exercised by the priest, even in military and political

affairs, as well as an indication of his charity towards the afflicted. It was also an inducement to others afterwards to ask for his aid in time of danger. Thus a man of high rank shortly afterwards invited the priest to his house, and engaged him, strange as it may sound, to afford him his protection in the future, nor was this frank expression of confidence without its reward. Even he was very much surprised when he found that the protection of the priest was to be relied upon, and that while a hostile soldiery were traversing the country in all directions, driving off the cattle, and burning the crops in the lands of the rebels elsewhere, no part of his possessions, by the general's order, was touched or injured. Now, if he encountered a soldier, the man would salute him reverently, with bowed head, and say to his comrades, "Let us go; this house is under the priest's protection. We must not ask for anything here, much less extort it," acknowledging that they would more gladly defer to a word from the priest than to the command of a colonel or a captain. He persuaded the priest to stay for a few days, and came to be on terms of so much confidence as to tell him the whole state of his affairs, and talk to him about the exaggerated puritanical, or Calvinistic zeal of his wife, the dispositions of his sons, and the marriage of his daughters.

The priest had with him on this occasion an intimate and trustworthy friend, a Catholic gentleman known to his host. The daughters of the host had never seen a priest before, and either out of curiosity or respect, paid him great attention, asking many questions about Catholic doctrine, maidens consecrated to God, about the sacraments, and the observance of the precepts of the divine law, pressing him with arguments against some points they had read of in books; while the other guests and

relatives who were present encouraged them, for they were much interested in the conversation. The girls praised his learning, as he talked, and his clear and lucid explanation of orthodox truth, and took note of the words he used. It was Lent, and they were struck by his observance of the fast, although various dishes cooked with flesh were placed upon the table. They entreated him to take care of his health, especially after the fatigues of his long and unaccustomed journey with the army, and the practice, which might easily prove unhealthy, of drinking the spring water. The mere recital of his account of that expedition had already seemed to occasion them horror. Their father was wonderfully pleased with the interest his daughters took in these subjects, and the frequent conversations they held on religious questions, and his views and sentiments seemed turning towards the Catholics. He seemed deterred only by the savage severity of the laws against the Catholics, by the hold on his mind of opinions long since formed, and by his affection for his ancestral rank and inheritance; motives which influence even men of sense and judgment. Meanwhile, there was at any rate this much advantage gained, by God's good will, that amidst the tumults and disorders which agitated the kingdom, and in a country where the priestly office was, above all things hated and despised, even opponents of the priests were seen and known to ask their patronage, and openly proclaim the need of their assistance.

As the fortunes of war varied at this time from day to day, so the Fathers of the Society also had their vicissitudes. The nobleman just mentioned had so much confidence in the priest's influence for his protection, that he asked him to extend it to one of his relatives, who resided in the Boyne territory, across the

Spey. An accident occurred which gave greater *éclat* to this interposition, for a Calvinist preacher had left his books for safety in that gentleman's house, and the soldiers, concluding from this circumstance that he must be one of that flock, were with difficulty prevented by their Lieutenant, Colonel John Macdonald, from doing serious harm to his property.

The Father arrived just in time, and convinced them that this was an old friend of his own, whose hospitality he had enjoyed, and whose age and character entitled him to respect. On this they took the man whom they were beginning to detest, into great favour and affection. Here, as in many other places, the Fathers were treated with distinction and respect, and every one endeavoured to merit their favour by their zeal and service. In this they always gained their own advantage, for their influence was plainly sufficient to keep the soldiers from doing others any harm or injury, even when they might have done it justly.

The profession of the Catholic Religion was everywhere a safeguard and protection at this time. A brave Catholic lady, whose husband was absent, as well as the priest who was her guardian, had her house temporarily invaded by a fresh levy of Highland soldiers passing through the place, for she lived on the lands of a rebel nobleman. She put up the sign of the cross in a conspicuous position on the front of her house, declaring it to be a testimony of her piety, not a signal of rebellion, and the commander of the King's forces severely prohibited any insult being offered to the sacred symbol.

Catholics considered it honourable, not only to provide for the safety of their own, and to extend protection to others, but also to forgive where revenge would have been justified. A priest of the order of Minims,

whose sister was the wife of Macranald called the Fair, had once been made prisoner by a family living in the county of Buchan. Macranald accompanied the army to the place, and might justly have killed the guilty parties, and burnt down the house. But he considered it more pious to pardon them, and accordingly went to re-assure the inhabitants of the house where the good priest had been apprehended, accompanied by one of our Fathers, and had the satisfaction of hearing them speak in praise of the clemency, which, as a good Catholic, he had extended to them.

One result of their long labours afforded extreme satisfaction to one of the Fathers. They saw everywhere a complete relaxation of the persecution, the course of which they had watched with pain and anxiety for so many years. They were saddened, however, by the death of one of their friends, who, in the midst of this period of peace, departed to his immortal rest. This was John Leslie, of New Leslie, who, as a child, had received his education from a Catholic bishop, the ambassador of Queen Mary Stuart,[1] and drew from him the rudiments of the piety and constancy which he retained during his life. At a more advanced age he learned to endure the bitterness of persecution in his native land, by the misfortune of the times, often having his property robbed and plundered, often with difficulty escaping the violence and fury of the Calvinists, by seeking a rough retreat among the mountains, with his wife and young children.

Sometimes he was driven to elude the vigilance of his enemies by moving from hiding-place to hiding-place, and more than once was sent away from the

[1] If this John Leslie was born about 1575, as appears below, he might have been in the household either of John Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, or of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, or of William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, all of whom had been ambassadors for Queen Mary.

country into banishment. On this occasion he made a noble confession of his faith before a full assembly of the representatives of the people and the nobles, and was forced to sell his ancestral possessions, which were very extensive, for a trifling sum of money. Returning, he remained the object of the virulent hatred and detestation of the heretics, on account of his courage in persevering in Religion to the end of his days. He was known in all parts of the country for his fervent zeal. He was always joyful and light-hearted under persecution, and on all occasions used to repeat the verse, "Blessed be God," so that he came to be known by that name. He departed to the reward of his toil and labour in the early part of this year, having outlived all his dangers and troubles, and leaving the memory of his piety, firmness, and perseverance as his monument in Scotland. At the moment of the completion of his course he was strengthened by the grace of the Sacraments at the hands of one of the Fathers of the Society. He has left a son who had become before his father's death a priest of our Society, two daughters in a religious house, and a third who is a member of a very celebrated community of women in Belgium. Even his enemies allowed him to be pious, devoted, and a conscientious sufferer for his faith. Full as his life was of calamity and trouble, he lived to be over seventy years of age.

Another, a Gordon by descent, has also passed away to his reward at the age of sixty, after a good confession of the Catholic faith. He was fortunate in death as he had been in life; for though the army of the rebels was marching through the part of the country where he lived, he was nevertheless able to receive the aid of the Sacraments from the hand of a priest.

He was converted to the Faith by what would appear

to be a slight consideration; seeing sick animals cured by being sprinkled with holy water. He was a faithful friend and entertainer of the Fathers of our Society, and being fervent in his zeal against heresy, and conspicuous for Christian boldness, he absolutely despised the threat of persecution. He often concealed priests in his house in the most dangerous times, waiting upon them like a servant, with wonderful simplicity and steadiness of purpose. His death was followed by many encomiums from his opponents, for his high character and steadfastness in the faith he professed.

The joy and triumph of the Catholic soldiers was increased by the accession to their ranks of the young Marquis of Huntly, who had at first appeared to approve the proceedings of Argyll, who is his uncle, and did not on that account take part with the King's forces, but on the defeat of Argyll at Inverlochy, he joined the commander of the royal army, with a splendid body of horse. There were among the ranks of his troopers many brave young men who were Catholics, as well as men of greater age, who had been entertainers and supporters of the priests of the Society in the north of Scotland. This had the effect of uniting the Marquis of Montrose to the Catholics in the highest degree; for he found them particularly ready to obey orders, and firm in their fidelity and allegiance. Eventually he attached many of them to his staff and household. On this account the two priests of the Society made a new distribution of their scheme of labour, and one of them, in order to be able to afford his assistance to these soldiers, accompanied the army, marching with them through the provinces which he was already well acquainted with, namely Buchan, Garioch, Mar, Nairn, and Angus.

The rebels were not despondent, and they committed to a veteran leader the task of assembling a force of cavalry and infantry to operate against the royal troops; and during March and April there was much marching up and down along all the roads, though with very little actual fighting. The priests now found great difficulty in discharging their functions. There was also less hope than before of gathering a rich spiritual harvest in the Highlands, owing to the death of Donald Macranald, called the Fair, whose residence, followers, and lands were situated in Lochaber, and had all been burnt and laid waste a second time by the Campbells before the battle of Inverlochy. His ancestry and his piety added to the detestation in which they held him, and to their desire for revenge.

While the army was on its march through the centre of the kingdom, the Moray rebels broke out from their garrison at Brora,[1] and began to plunder the possessions of loyal subjects of the crown, those of Catholics with special cruelty and severity. A nobleman whose house they attacked endeavoured to make his escape across the river, but they followed, and nearly killed him, and with still more eager hatred, they robbed his wife, a Catholic lady, of all her ornaments, and nearly all her garments, turned her infant out of the cradle before the mother's eyes, and treated the young lady who waited upon her, and the nurse, with similar disrespect, scarcely leaving them, at their earnest entreaty, clothes enough to cover them. What made it worse, the principal author of this shocking proceeding was indebted for his life to the lady's parents, for he had been condemned to death for homicide, and was rescued by their interposition. Such is the perfidy and ingratitude of heretics.

[1] Brora, to the north of the Firth of Moray.

They endeavoured also to accomplish both by stratagem and violence, the complete destruction of another man of rank, who was very conspicuous for orthodox religious faith, together with his wife and all his children. The rebel soldiers had passed his dwelling a short time before, had been kindly received, and assured him that he had nothing to fear, for the horsemen were going off in a different direction. There was an evident design to deceive him, and even while he was repeating the words, they returned to the assault. His wife was sick, but as soon as she was able to be moved, her women-servants conveyed her to the castle of a noble earl, their patron, which was close by. The sacred Mass furniture was carried by one of her daughters in a box, and the young sons, whose destruction was chiefly intended by the enemy, followed in the rear. They had scarcely entered the castle, which was half a mile distant, when the rebels attacked their house, plundered all they could lay their hands on, and threw what they could not carry away into the filthiest place they could find. The books, which there had not been time to take care of, they tore to pieces, and scattered to the winds and along the middle of the roads. The owner was at very little distance, and within sight, but although they knew him by sight, they did not recognise him, though they made his servant, who was standing near him, a prisoner. But the man contrived to steal away, and they could not find him again. The priest, whom they expected to find in the house, was fortunately absent, for the leader of the horsemen, who was inflamed with the utmost rage and malevolence, was quite prepared to treat him with every possible contumely, and put him to death. The savage assault was so rapidly conducted, that the priest, on coming to the spot, learned first from

the two boys, one three, and the other four years of age, that they had run away with their mother, and that the books had been torn up.

As the rebel army continued to lay waste the lands, especially of Catholics, in the immediate neighbourhood of the royal forces, and both armies had for some time ineffectually pursued one another, both at length resolved to have recourse to battle. Under these circumstances, it was clearly due to the Catholic friends of the Fathers of the Society that the latter should exert themselves, for it was evident that the impending engagement would be a severe one. The struggle was to take place on the Moray plain; but first we must say something of the fortunes of the military chaplains. Two priests had overtaken or accompanied the royal army on its return from the south, and they very soon found an opportunity of exercising their ministrations on the march. One young man was severely wounded while breaking through the ranks of the enemy in too eager pursuit, and his friends were obliged to leave him where he fell. The priests could not help rejoicing at this accident, for by the carelessness of his parents rather than his own, he had not yet adopted the Catholic Faith, although through his grandfather, he came of an orthodox stock. But now being instructed in the mysteries of the Faith, he soon cleansed his soul by confession, and then began to experience the deepest joy and happiness. The Fathers, anxious also for the safety of his body, had him secretly conveyed by his servants on a litter to the castle of his friends, during the quiet of the night, because there was not the least doubt the Moray rebels would have dragged him out of the castle and murdered him, if they had known he was there, though there was scarcely a breath left in

his body. But, either from want of diligence on the part of the servants, or his own weakness, which prevented their travelling rapidly, he could not reach the castle, and remained secretly hidden in an inn in the neighbourhood.

These particulars came to the knowledge of the rebels, and they rushed like furies to seize him. Ill as he was, he knew they were upon him, and with great courage declared that they might cut him in pieces if they liked, and use him as cruelly as they pleased; one who was the friend of God, and of the Catholic Church of God, cannot die amiss. They stabbed him, half-dead as he already was, with many wounds, and hacked his body with the impotent fury of vengeance; then they cut off his servant's hands, and flogged him severely. A little boy, hidden away in the oven, remained there all the time, and was a witness of this horrible spectacle.

We must now speak of the signal victory, which God gave in response to the prayers of the Catholics, on the Festival of Saint Gregory Nazianzen,[1] well known as a bold assailant of heretics and deserters from the Faith. There were two rebel armies, one of which had been left in the south, the other was opposed to our forces in the northern provinces. The commander of the royal army had been encouraged by fresh accessions of the orthodox to his standards, and among them was a distinguished knight, who had escaped from Carlisle in England, while that fortress was besieged by the enemy.[2] The rebel Calvinists multiplied their supplications before battle, reading many chapters of the Bible, but the effect, as was said, was as if they were uttering their lamentations beforehand for their own approach-

[1] 9th of May 1645.

[2] Lord Aboyne with sixteen horsemen broke out of Carlisle.

ing fate. The Catholics humbly entreated the help of God, redoubling their prayers, but in a more private manner, on their knees, and asked the priest's blessing. This was done also by the commander of the forces, and by the young Marquis of Huntly and his brother, who had observed the Catholic gentlemen belonging to their household adopting this pious custom as a means of obtaining the blessing of God, and when just on the point of engaging in battle, signing themselves and their weapons with the cross, and imploring the assistance of God, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints. The royalists were very inferior in numbers, for the rebels had received auxiliary reinforcements from Ross, Sutherland, and Moray. But God does not mete out victory by the numbers of armed men engaged.

The rebels were routed at the first onset, and the prisoners afterwards declared that they were so terrified that they could not hold their weapons firmly. What was very extraordinary, the men in danger of being killed ran up to the priest, calling out to him to save them from death. He ran considerable risk himself by interference, for the soldiers at that moment were in full ardour of battle, and had their blood up, more especially so because the Royalists had in view, opposed to them, the men who had just before, by a very treacherous stratagem, killed one Donald Farquharson,[1] who was much beloved by them, and greatly liked by every one who knew him for his uncommon gentleness and sweetness of disposition, and Catholic piety.

On the right wing, the enemy made a better stand, and were not frightened. Their attack was well sustained by the brave Alexander Macdonald, who has been more than once mentioned, with the assistance of only a small

[1] He was killed by Hurry's men in the streets of Aberdeen.

body of men. It was reported that nearly three thousand of the rebels were killed; of the Royalists eight soldiers and one captain only. The regiment which the Marquis of Argyll treated as his own guard, was cut off almost to a man. This regiment had turned two Catholic ladies of rank out of their houses. A captain, who was one of the first to fall, had done the same thing in another case, and treated a whole Catholic family harshly and unkindly. This officer was seen to wear the belt of the excellent man, Farquharson, already mentioned. This engagement was fought at Auldearn in Moray, a place celebrated in the verses of the seers and bards. The inhabitants of the spot and of the neighbourhood were not numerous enough to bury all the dead, and many of them were torn out of their graves and devoured by dogs, for they were only laid in the ground just deep enough to be covered with a little earth thrown upon them. Among the slain was a colonel of the Campbells, almost without a wound.

This victory was far from bringing the Royalists either safety or repose. The rebel army in the south at once moved northward, as if to afford our Fathers a fresh harvest of suffering and toil. They had now to be tried by forced and hurried marches, thirst and hunger, frost, cold, and rain. No beds to sleep on, bread scarce and black, a draught of water from a river, food rarely cooked with salt, a couch on the hillside, the same dress worn night and day, frequent disturbances in camp, with words or blows, alternately in pursuit of foes, or in retreat more hazardous than battle, incessant skirmishes, night marches, and rugged roads.

Little time was now allowed for sleep, which was interrupted about every third night, and sometimes there was none at all. Provisions were taken as they

were found, and there was no regular supply. This added greatly to the inconveniences of these military journeys, and often there was nothing to be obtained unless it were taken from the enemy by force. The ferocity of the rebels was very great, but the confidence of the Royalists equalled it. The commander of the royal army wisely determined to break the strength of the enemy by an expedition into the mountains. They had boasted that they would drive the Royalists into the sea; and that they would not bring new levies and a new leader into conflict with experienced troops and a practised general. Yet they were so much weakened by one march into the Highlands that they returned to the plains again. The King's troops then resolved to attack the third army of the rebels which had been raised in Fife, and which was preparing to lay waste the lands of the Royalists.

The priests were at that time celebrating the solemnities of Pentecost in camp, the army having a few days' rest. The rebels had withdrawn into a fortified place of safety, to avoid being crushed by an attack, and the Marquis of Montrose was hastening towards them with forced marches from Badenoch in the north, towards a district to the eastward, Strathnairn,[1] moving night and day. The Catholic soldiers observed the fast-days in Whitsun-week, and the mild spring weather seemed to offer some compensation for the bitter cold which had retarded their progress on the march the year before; among the heights of the mountains, amid the rough and rugged country, and the difficult and circuitous roads they had to traverse. They were now ascending Mount Scarsach,[2] almost in the very heart of

[1] In MS. Straharlia.

[2] There is a Scarsach Hill near Cairn Brennoch.

the country, now an entirely desolate and uninhabited region, but formerly a hunting-preserve for the kings and queens of Scotland and the great nobles of the kingdom. Frequent springs of fresh water flowed from the height of the hill, and they encountered herds of wild deer of great size, each following their own leader. The warriors did not think it would be decorous to shoot them. The smaller ones might have been followed by dogs, but the dogs were not strong enough to kill them. Hares occasionally ran among the ranks of soldiers, and they endeavoured to catch them, and not let them escape alive, for they consider it a sinister omen, when on a military expedition, if these timid creatures make their way in safety through the ranks without being either killed or captured. There were hounds enough with the army, but they could not kill the hares, and it is needless to say the soldiers could not. But having often observed the young hares running through the serried ranks of the soldiers of the Argyll Campbell, the leader of the rebels, and then retreating again from the presence of the Royalists to the rebel army as if for safety, without allowing themselves to be caught or killed, they all agreed that this must be interpreted as a sign of coming victory, and the event undoubtedly strengthened their confidence in this unerring omen of the future.

The fasts were duly observed, and Mass frequently celebrated, in this land of huntsmen, as if they had been in a Catholic country, and they were attended in addition by numerous Catholics of the Ogilvie clan from Angus, and others who had not been recognised before. A thanksgiving was held, and earnest prayers offered that as a result of these toils and combats of so small a band of men, the Father of mercies would open the way

for the restoration of salvation and orthodox religion to a much greater multitude.

An unexpected incident showed the force of Catholic piety which there was in the army. The priest was informed by a colonel who was his friend that a lieutenant in his regiment, a young man not ill-disposed, was, in his opinion, tormented by an evil spirit. He would hide his face, as if for shame, betrayed the profoundest sorrow by dreadful groans and sobs, shed floods of tears, and after being for a time unable to speak for sobbing, would exclaim that the foul spirit was upon him, and that his soul was lost in hopeless despair. He rode out of his place in the ranks, and was in constant danger of his life amongst the rocks and precipices which met him at every turn. The priest talked to the afflicted young man, who soon began to feel the violence of his anguish somewhat diminish. He taught him the words of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, and frequently to pronounce the name of Jesus, and told him of many examples from the gospel of men similarly affected, who were all cured by our Lord. At length he was brought to perceive that he held the remedy of his infirmity in a great degree within his own power, and gradually learnt to make use of it. The colonel requested the priest to sleep in a tent near his own, which was occupied by this young man, for fear he should be seized with sudden terror on waking in the dark, merely human strength of body being of no avail in sufferings of this description. Whenever the youth started from sleep in sudden agony of terror, as he not unfrequently did, the priest came to his aid, and presently succeeded in restoring the tranquillity of his mind, and it was said that he was not afterwards subject to

fits of melancholy, although he was not allowed, after this, to join the army on its march again.

The ferocity of the rebels continued all this time on the increase, and they promised themselves victory now that they had a new leader of their armies.[1] They said that hitherto the commanders of the armies of the Covenant had betrayed the cause, but the famous chief of the reformed religion who now led them would stand firmly for the truth.

A short but sharp struggle took place on the Feast of the Visitation of the holy Mother of God.[2] The Almighty appeared to verify the words of His most Blessed Mother that He had done to her great things, by endowing her clients and friends with valour against her foes. Among the rebels the men of Fife and Galloway were especially given to blasphemy against the Queen of Angels, and on this account the Catholics more earnestly and repeatedly implored her aid. The colonels came themselves to confession, the soldiers redoubled their appeals to Heaven, and sought the benediction of the priest. The rebels were put to flight almost directly, and a large body of their cavalry left the foot-soldiers to be slaughtered, and made off, not, however, without suffering severely themselves. It was noticed that some of the Royalists were wounded in a portion of the army which had been less diligent than the others in consulting their safety by prayer.

This battle was fought at Alford, a village in Mar, near the river Don, a place surrounded on all sides by obstinate heretics, who were ready to issue forth from their garrisons in the neighbourhood. They were certain that the Royalists and Papists would be put to flight, and they would then cut them off on all sides in their

[1] Sir Wm. Baillie of Letham. [2] 2nd July 1645.

retreat. But God turned the hazard and fortune of war against the proud.

There was seen among the dead the body of a lieutenant-colonel from Galloway, who was remarkable for his size and strength and ardour of battle against the papists, and who was killed at the first onset. The leader of the cavalry lost his helmet in the first charge, the clasps which fastened it not being firm, and this accident occasioned the horsemen who were following him, to turn; but the Royalists cut the sinews of the horses with their swords, and easily overthrew the riders.

The rebels, thus defeated in a fourth engagement in the north of Scotland, left that part of the country in peace, and the men whom they left in garrison seldom ventured to sally forth to attack travellers on the routes in the neighbourhood of the forts they held. The priests accordingly began to renew their religious ministrations, more particularly among those who had been prevented by sex or inability to bear arms, from making their appearance in camp or on the march. They had also to take care of the wounded, of whom there were many scattered in inns about the country, who had to be visited, encouraged, and aided with the Sacraments.

On one occasion, the priest was engaged in an expedition of this kind, in company with a band of soldiers who were directed to guide and protect him, when on arriving early in the morning at a gentleman's house, the latter was horrified at the sight of the armed men, and wanted to know who would undertake to keep them in order, as there was no officer in command of them, or to whom application could be made. The priest begged his hosts to give the soldiers some money for refreshment, promising that they would show them-

selves completely orderly, and under control. The men were more peacefully disposed even than usual, being then fresh from victory, and the priest's voice was sufficient to make them models of politeness. They neither ill-treated nor frightened anyone. The hostess of the inn to which they repaired did not like priests, but she found, and proclaimed to every one, that a priest had freed her from every fear and apprehension, and imposed his orders upon the soldiers more effectually than she could impose hers upon her waiting-maids, or than her husband could upon his sons and daughters.

Several Catholics ended their days during this year, in the midst of these triumphs, and the dawn of something that looked like hope of freedom. They were prepared for death, not so much by length of days, as by long endurance of calamities suffered for their faith, and the divine goodness withdrew them from the troubles which were coming in the future, and were only too close at hand. There was not one of them who had not spent his life in a noble confession of orthodox religion, and suffered in the cause. Thus our priests felt themselves bound to travel night and day to many distant places to give their assistance to them in their sickness. Women as well as men went to receive the crown of perseverance.

Jane Gordon, of the family of Lesmore, widow of John Gordon of Craig,[1] had long been struggling, both with persecution and grievous sickness, and opportunely at the end of her life sent to seek the priest. There was some difficulty in finding him, for it was immediately after the victory, and the country was still in agitation with movements of soldiers. She had been led to the true faith by an extraordinary vision, and the conclusion

[1] *Cf.* Appendix to Vol. II.

of her life corresponded to this beginning of her faith. She had been in doubt about the propriety of revealing the secrets of her mind to mortal man in the sacrament of confession, and, being asleep, she saw the child Jesus, showing to her His wounded side, and telling her that for the salvation of men, he had laid open the way to his heart by a wide wound, and why should mortals hesitate to lay bare the secrets of their hearts to men? The perfect sweetness of this vision settled her doubts, and she declared herself ready to make known the innermost secrets of her heart to anyone, even to her husband.

From that time, she was remarkable for religious constancy and pious zeal. She was a second time driven into banishment with her husband, and returned for new combats and struggles, suffering frequent and heavy losses in property. She joyfully endured persecution, residing at her own house as long as it was possible, and she was allowed to remain in Scotland, although against the advice of her father and her other relatives. There was a chapel in her house, not only for the sake of her Catholic household, but for others also, in which sermons were frequently preached, and some conversions of heretics took place. Her husband ended his days in France, and she died in the land of her persecution. She responded herself to the prayers at the last unction, and was filled with hope and gladness, rejoicing that she had not been deprived of the assistance of a priest in her last struggle. She commended her only son, lately returned from France, to the Fathers of the Society, to be educated by them from childhood, and taught constancy and perseverance.

The priest had scarcely discharged this duty when he was called to another widow, whom he reached only

just in time by a very hasty journey; her malady making rapid progress at the end.

The Fathers frequently had to baptize infants in the army, as well as elsewhere, for the soldiers' wives were not always able to follow the camp. They were greatly delighted at finding everything got ready for this sacrament which could possibly be required, even precious vessels, which they scarcely thought could be brought to Scotland, or be found there, and this while men of rank in the army were often in want of the comforts, sometimes indeed of the very necessaries of life. They were equally pleased, with the care and neatness with which the sacred furniture was kept for saying Mass, the splendour of the ornaments, and careful observance of ceremony, and when marriage had to be celebrated, with the care which was taken by everyone concerned to have everything done duly and properly.

God vouchsafed a still more wonderful proof this year of the possibility of the overthrow and complete subjugation of heresy in this country. Our enemies in the south, however astounded they may have been at witnessing or hearing the accounts of the transactions which had taken place in the north, nevertheless made great efforts to renew the war; but these all came to nothing. Alexander Macdonald raised a levy out of Kintyre and the islands among the followers of the Marquis of Antrim; they formed a powerful reinforcement to the army. Lachlan Maclean[1] brought a strong regiment from the islands of Mull and Jura, and other island chieftains joined with detachments from the north. The young Marquis of Huntly raised a strong body of horsemen among the Gordons and others. The royal

[1] Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart, the brave chief of the clan. *Cf.* Murdoch, *Deeds of Montrose*, p. 159.

troops were thus able to occasion considerable anxiety to the rebels in the south, though in fact they were scarcely three thousand in actual numbers.

After many skirmishes and tentative engagements, a pitched battle was fought at length, on the Festival of the Assumption of the holy Mother of God.[1] The mode of fighting was new, and the spectacle strange and unfamiliar, for the soldiers rejected the use of armour as a protection to their persons, and the whole army moved against the enemy, all clad in white.[2] The foot-soldiers marched like a flash of sunlight, and the horsemen, who preceded them, wore white linen, not over their armour, but over their other garments. The rebels, noticing the unusual whiteness of the lines of the royal army, made various conjectures as to the cause, and fancied that the papists, as they called them, had thrown away, not only their baggage, but their upper garments as well, in order to be ready for flight, so as to be able to reach the heights of the mountains lightly and easily. The wiser said that as the Campbell chief, the Marquis of Argyll, was now superior in numbers, the King's troops had doubtless a purpose in showing themselves to them dressed in white, to express that they had no care for their skins, and did not fear wounds, but were ready to rush into battle almost unclad. They were meditating a sudden and desperate onslaught, not a mock fight, nor a series of single combats.

They were not wrong in this conjecture. Argyll made his will before the battle, and many concluded that he meant to show a firm front, and cast his life on

[1] 15th of August 1645.

[2] Wishart says: "Montrose also ordered all his men, horse and foot, to throw off their heavier garments, and fight in white, stripped to their shirts. They obeyed with alacrity, and thus disencumbered, they stood ready for battle, determined to conquer or die."

the hazard of victory. But the aspect of an army clad in white, conscious as he was himself of fraud and double dealing, was more than he could endure. He turned and fled directly they came in sight, and did not stop till he got on board ship, and then he sailed away to England.

The spot where the battle was fought is called Kilsyth, and is about half-way between Glasgow and Stirling. The Hamiltons in the west and south were then bringing a considerable body of troops against the Royalists, but having heard of the victory at Kilsyth, they immediately dispersed. The rebels fought less bravely in this battle, in proportion to their numbers, than before. They were more than nine thousand men, and yet they gave way almost at the first attack. The regiment, which they called the Bramble corps, stood firm for some time, but was soon routed and cut up by the bands of the Ogilvies, and part of the Lachlan and Irish regiments.

That heaven favoured our arms was shown in many ways. A young Catholic Ogilvie had his eye shot out by a bullet, but did not lose his sight. We have since seen him, not without admiration. A great number of the rebels went off to one side, and then fled without ever seeing the enemy. A body of the royal cavalry set off in hot pursuit of the rebels, through a space of marshy land full of projecting rocks, and with stone walls built across it in all directions. On their return from the pursuit, they found they could scarcely manage to lead their horses through the same place, though they dismounted in order to do so. They were convinced that they must have been carried forward by divine aid, and that the miracle ceased on their return, that they might know that more than human help had not been wanting to them.

The rebels in the south of Scotland would in all probability have been crushed by this, the sixth victory gained almost within the space of one year, only matters changed for the worse, as we shall see later, by the enemies' employment of stratagem and fraud. The priests of our Society were not present at this battle, but they used their intercession with the Lord of Hosts to grant them victory. A victory so complete that scarcely one or two Catholics and Royalists were killed, while the slain on the rebels' side amounted to 4500, as was shown by the accounts drawn up when they were buried.

An incident which occurred after this battle proved of credit and advantage to the Catholic cause, for the celebrated Catholic chief whom I have so often named, Alexander Macdonald, was knighted, being the only man who received this honour, by the General of the army and Governor of the kingdom. He was always most respectful and reverential to priests, and extended his protection to them and to their office, and wherever he went, even among the greatest tumult and the utmost peril, he always wished to have Mass celebrated, and took care to have this done. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon him in the presence of the whole army who looked on and applauded loudly the eloquent words of the General and leader of the soldiers, who acted as herald on this great occasion. This was a revival of the ancient practice of conferring knighthood only upon men who had merited exceptional and extraordinary fame in war. In Catholic times they used to be styled knights of Saint Andrew the Apostle, but they seem now to have abolished this title, as the heretics would not endure it.

The advantage gained by this victory extended far. At Edinburgh it had the effect of releasing from prison

the Scottish and Irish Catholic prisoners of war who were detained there, and some other unfortunate prisoners as well.[1] Some prisoners of high rank who had taken the King's part in England, were released at once from peril of their lives, and from the horrors of close imprisonment in dungeons. The cities of Ayr and Irvine, on the western coast opposite Ireland, which had always been hot-beds of heresy, and where in fact it had its origin, and began to spread, surrendered at once on the mere sight of Alexander Macdonald, though at first they meditated closing the gates against him. The Provost of Edinburgh and a deputation of the magistracy waited on the commander of the army, with a supplication for peace, and the governor of the prisons surrendered all his prisoners. All the other cities and towns sent, or, in the case of the more distant ones, agreed to send, embassies to him for similar purpose. All the nobles who set on foot the rebellion and the iniquitous Covenant have had to leave the kingdom, under the influence of fear and of their evil conscience. The others, who have not gone so far, and are not hopelessly ruined, so that they can hope for pardon, have thrown themselves on the clemency of the Marquis of Montrose, and returned to their allegiance. The camp is like a royal palace, the peers and councillors in session, the nobility assembling in numbers, and crowds of knights and gentlemen, anxious to pay their respects to the Viceroy and Governor, and place their swords at his disposal. All are ready to fight with fresh ardour in vindication of the royal prerogative and the ancestral rights of the crown.

[1] The following were among the prisoners set free by Montrose :—"The Earl of Crawford, Lord Ogilvie, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, Alexander Irvine, younger, of Drum, Robert Irvine of Federate had just died in prison." *Cf.* Murdoch, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

During all this time the obstinacy of the Calvinists in the southern part of Scotland has received a well-deserved scourge from the divine justice, in the pestilence which has raged especially at Edinburgh, as well as Leith, and other neighbouring towns, and which seems to yield to no contrivance and no remedies. Three hundred and sixty families only at Edinburgh have escaped the scourge; these were not bigoted heretics, nor rebels to their King and the laws of their country. Nearly all the other households have been exterminated. At Leith, out of nine thousand inhabitants, only one thousand have escaped infection. At Stirling the pestilence broke out for the third time, and there are hardly any inhabitants left in the place. One of our priests[1] in the south was closed in and surrounded by the plague, so that he could not pursue his journey, as it had taken possession of all the places round him.

The younger Earl of Wintoun, at whose house the priest was staying, and who is the chief of the house of Seton, nevertheless succeeded in going to the General's camp, to testify the ancient loyalty and allegiance of his family to the King. This has always been conspicuous, and this noble family have always been the supporters and protectors of the priests, and was the earliest refuge of our Society in Scotland.

Nothing, however, is permanent or stable in this world, and the good which God sends us is too often spoiled and wasted by the faithlessness of man. This is the lesson of that part of the story, which we have now to tell, and the following incident will prepare us for what is to follow.

One of our soldiers, a most excellent and exemplary

[1] Father James Macbreck.

man, gratefully ascribed the advantages won by his cause to the help of God, rather than to military skill and activity, at a time when others were intent only on celebrating their triumph, and a certain relaxation of discipline prevailed. The most Blessed Virgin Mother of God appeared to him in a dream, and assuring him that these successes had been obtained by her intercession with the Almighty, added a warning of coming evil, declaring that she would have obtained still greater advantages had she not been hindered by the decline of piety in the army. She desired him to prepare himself for death by the support of the Sacraments, for he would be taken from this life before he could witness the calamity which was about to befall. The soldier at once repeated what had been said to him about his own death to the Irish priest who had charge of the regiment. A man who was so soon to die could not be held to be in health, and in answer to his earnest request, the last Sacraments were not refused to him, but no one really believed he was going to die, though he seriously asserted it himself, and related to them the vision he had seen, until his death actually occurred, much before his friends expected it.

This story we have often heard related, but the death of the priest, an excellent and thoroughly trustworthy man, which has happened since, prevented our receiving the confirmation of its truth from his own lips.

The army was now going to encamp on the English border, where matters were in so doubtful and disordered a condition that little result of their labour was to be expected there, and our Fathers had decided not to come southward or to accompany the army, because this would leave the northern provinces altogether

destitute of aid. Macdonald went into Kintyre and the islands to tranquillise his own dominion, and the others dispersed to their homes. The young Marquis of Gordon went to the north. The chiefs of the south believed that they could carry on the war successfully with fresh forces, but they have done a great deal more mischief than good, for prompted by envy they did all in their power, and by means of every fraud and artifice, to get rid of the small band of Catholics, which conconstituted the real strength of the army. In fine, the general was detained on the border by the hope of uniting his forces to those of the King, until he was driven back to the north by an artfully contrived stratagem, having lost the greater part of his Catholic soldiers.

This disaster has thrown everything in Scotland into utter confusion, and when it was too late the soldiers recognised the truth of their deceased comrade's prophecy. A new and ill-omened set of preachers came into the camp, sent with orders from the King, and from that time, and as long as they remained with the army, nothing has turned out well, and everything has gone from bad to worse.

Montrose formed the few Catholics, who remained under his command, into his own personal guard, and he quickly assembled a troop of horse with the addition of some veteran horsemen from Athole. In the north the Gordons, and other Catholic chiefs of rank and influence, decided to follow the Royalist leader in the struggle on which he had entered, with complete confidence and devotion. This circumstance has had the effect of recalling our priests to the north, and they entered with renewed ardour once more on the labours of a winter march, towards the end of the year. They

had now the sole charge of all the Catholics, for the Irish priests were either killed, or had gone with Alexander Macdonald, and were living in his territory among the islands.

The rebels pursued the Royalists to the north, and thence once more to the south again, but the Marquis of Montrose proceeded by forced marches to Lennox, which is near Glasgow and Stirling, fixed his camp almost in sight of the enemy, and continued to maintain his position, and here the priests succeeded in keeping up the utmost good-will among the soldiers, who were depressed by the losses they had sustained and the memory of their comrades who had fallen.

The people of Lennox are hostile to the King, and this is especially the case with the Buchanans. This was the native country of George Buchanan, a wicked and faithless man of former days. The soldiers went to the residence of one of this family, demanding his surrender. He gazed on them with surprise, and answered, "Are there, then, any Papists still left? I thought they had all murdered one another. Go, you will find no welcome here!" A lad, however, set fire to the gate, and they soon effected an entrance. They found there a considerable store of provisions, but the hostile chief seemed deaf and dumb, though strong and vigorous; yet he was not selfishly careful of his own interest; in spite of the poverty of his house, he offered the priest a share, and treated him throughout with great respect.

The Feast of All Saints was celebrated at Loch Lomond with great devotion by all the soldiers, in the midst of a country strongly opposed to Catholic piety, and prayers for the dead were said in commemoration of all the faithful departed, and Mass for the repose of

the souls of the slain. The priests, observing them all in tears together, recalled to them the memory of their comrades, and they cleansed their souls in confession, and gave alms to the extent their slender means would allow.

In truth the calamities they suffered were lamentable in the extreme. Such wives and children of the slain as had escaped death, bore many a wound and scar; for the savage temper of the heretic rebels is such, that they spare neither women nor infants at the breast. Men, who after stout resistance yielded eventually on promise of their lives, they promised to spare, since in fact they could not kill them with arms in their hands. But as soon as they had laid down their arms, they were ruthlessly and faithlessly butchered, with great inhumanity, and in defiance of all right and justice.[1] Noblemen were made prisoners by them, who were guilty of no conspiracy against their power—among them the young Earl of Wintoun, who was a Catholic.

The rebels held a parliament at Glasgow, but the presence of the Royal army in the neighbourhood, and the plague, which seemed to follow them everywhere as if in attendance on their movements, compelled them to move eastwards to Saint Andrews, formerly the primate's see, lying on the German Ocean, whither the Royal army could not follow them easily. It accordingly moved northward once more, and Montrose seeing that the winter, which is otherwise so terrible in this climate, is comparatively warm in Moray, resolved to halt there, and to attempt the siege of Inverness.

Here again, therefore, the Scottish and Irish Catholics observed with remarkable piety the solemnity

[1] This is attested by Dr Guthrie, by Patrick Gordon, and by Wishart. *Cf.* Napier, *Life of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 584, 585. See Appendix, p. 359.

of Saint Andrew the Apostle, the patron of Scotland, greatly to the admiration of a noble personage whom the King's General had sent to the castle of the Marquis of Huntly. The chief official of the household invited all the Catholics to make their communion together within the house, and noticing this united action of piety, Montrose's envoy enquired of the priest why the papists gave these marked and visible indications of mutual charity among themselves. The priest pointed out to him that there was nothing wonderful in this exhibition of kindness towards their own people, since Catholics recognised that kindness and charity are due even to aliens and enemies.

He found this out himself, by his own experience, a few days later, when a Catholic gentleman accompanied and guided him in an extremely difficult journey he had to undertake to the farthest limit of Scotland, towards the north-west. This personage was more than ordinarily active and alert, and everywhere made friends for him, and procured him hospitality in the most dangerous haunts of the rebels in Caithness. He brought him without any mischance safe to the Lord of Strathearn, solely out of devotion to the cause in which they were both interested.

The rebel forces, rendered insolent, not by success, but by the treason of some whom they had gained to their side, hastened to strike terror into the people of the north of Scotland by a fresh invasion. A few troops of cavalry consisting of Catholics and other Royalists, met and gave them some little alarm, but were not numerous enough to undertake a regular expedition in winter. Lightly armed, without their cloaks, and dismounted from their horses, they daily made some attack upon the enemies' patrols, and threw them into some

confusion, killing a few of the pickets, and making others prisoners.

This gave the priests an opportunity of more quietly celebrating the solemnities of the Nativity of Christ our Lord.

From Scotland, in the year 1648, on the 5th day of August.

Your humblest servant in Christ,

JAMES MACBRECK.

APPENDIX I.

(*To page* 356)

SOME FURTHER EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE MASSACRE OF PHILIPHAUGH

"MONTROSE'S foot," says Dr Guthrie, "so soon as the horse was gone, drew to a little fold, which they maintained until Stewart the adjutant procured quarter for them, from David Leslie. Whereupon they delivered up their arms, and came forth to a plain field, as they were directed. But then did the *Church-men* quarrel (complain) that quarter should be given to such wretches as they; and declare it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them; wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the clergy; and so they found out a *distinction* whereby to bring David Leslie off; and this it was, that quarter was only meant to Stewart the adjutant himself, but not to his company; after which, having delivered the adjutant to Middleton, to be his prisoner, the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces."

This account, says Napier (*Life of Montrose*, vol. ii., p. 584) is so circumstantial, that doubtless it had been obtained from some of those present.

The following independent narrative by Wishart corroborates Guthrie's statement:—

"But the foot, who could have little security by flight, fighting a good while stoutly and resolutely, at last, upon quarter asked and given for their lives, threw down their arms, and yielded themselves prisoners. Everyone of whom being naked and unarmed, without any regard to quarter given, Leslie caused to be inhumanly butchered."

Patrick Gordon refers to the same event, when he says: "Thus letting the horsemen go, they fell upon three hundred of the Irish who had stood together; whereof having killed two hundred and fifty the rest render their arms, upon promise of safe quarter, but it *was not kept*. . . . There were three hundred women, that, being natives of Ireland, were the married wives of the Irish. There were many big with child, yet none of them were spared; all were cut in pieces, . . . they ript the women with their swords." The same story is told by Wishart, though less minutely.

Wishart thus records the miserable fate of some of the stragglers who were brought in to General Leslie on his march through the Lothians to Glasgow. These poor prisoners, "being gathered together, were by order from the rebel lords, thrown headlong from *off a high bridge*; and the men together with their wives and sucking children, drowned in the river beneath; and if any chanced to swim towards the side, they were beaten off with pikes and staves, and thrust down again into the water."[1]

[1] Contemporary Translation, 1648; *cf.* Napier, *Life of Montrose*, vol. ii., pp. 585-7.

APPENDIX II.

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST SCOTTISH CATHOLICS UNDER THE PENAL LAWS

NOTE

"The proceedings adopted against the Roman Catholics and Jesuits at different periods, after the time of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, form a prominent part of the Ecclesiastical and Political History of the country."—Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, 1833, iii., 330.

The following extracts are taken chiefly from official papers, and partly also from Catholic sources. They treat of the sufferings of Catholics from opposite points of view, and they must both be taken into account, in order to arrive at knowledge of the facts. Unfortunately they do not, even when combined, tell us a fraction of what might, under other circumstances, have been on record. Though the selection which follows makes no pretensions to have exhausted even the printed sources, yet it will be found, I hope, not only instructive in itself, but also serviceable as a chronology of the persecution.

Two sources used more frequently than others—Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1859-1861, 3 vols.); and *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland* (ed. Hill-Burton, Masson, Hume Brown), Edinburgh, 1877, etc.—are cited compendiously, Chambers, *D.A.*, and *R.P.C.*

The Laird of Delgatty. 1625.

The Laird of Delgatty was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle and fined because he would not go to the Protestant meetings.

(Bishop Geddes, *MS. Memoirs*, 144.)

Father John Mambreck, S.J. December 1626.

John Mambreck was apprehended at Dundee in December 1626, at the instance of the Bishop of Brechin, and committed to Edinburgh

jail. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the death warrant had been signed by Charles I. Father Mambreck was, however, reprieved at the earnest solicitation of Queen Henrietta Maria, and of the mother of the Duke of Buckingham. The Father was discharged in June 1627, but he was too ill to travel abroad till next spring.

(G. Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*, 14.)

CHILDREN OF THE EARLS OF WINTOUN, ANGUS, AND LINLITHGOW.

22nd November 1626.

The Earl of Wintoun, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Linlithgow are requested by the King to have their children brought up by Protestant pedagogues.

(C. Rogers, *Register of Royal Letters*, i., 98.)

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, S.J. 1627.

Alexander Robison (Robertson), a Jesuit who has been in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh since the 20th of September, banished.

(*R.P.C.*, ii., pp. xxvii., 132, 562, etc.)

JOHN M'BRAIR AND OTHERS EXCOMMUNICATED. 22nd November 1627.

All Presbyteries in the realm having been enjoined to cite before them all Papists. "Now, John M'Brair, eldest lawful son to Robert M'Brair of Almigill, Marion Maxwell, Lady Wauchop, Elspitt Maxwell, widow of Harbert Cuninghame, lately town clerk of Dumfries, Agnes Johnstoun, wife of William Hereis, Edward Maxwell called of Cowhill, Agnes Maxwell, daughter of the Lady Conheth, James Maxwell, brother of Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell; Barbara Maxwell; Lady Mabie, elder; Dame Barbara Johnestoun, Lady Gribtoun, John Maxwell of Gribtoun, her son, James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, Richard Murray of Aikiebuss, Elspeth Maitlane, and Barbara Maxwell, servitrices to the Countess of Nithisdaill, Ewfame Beatie in Colledge, Homer Maxwell of Trostan, Jeane Browne, his spouse, Mr Charles Browne in New Abbey, Fergus M'Gill in Clauchane, and Gilbert Browne of Corbellie, . . . after long patience abyding their tyme of conversioun, the complainers were constrained to pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication."

(*R.P.C.*, ii., 128.)

COUNTESS OF ABERCORN. 20th January 1628.

By order of the Synod of Glasgow the Countess of Abercorn had been excommunicated on the 20th January. The Earl of Abercorn

was at the same time summoned. He left the country, and so escaped their further proceedings. He died about the year 1670. The Countess, after her excommunication, broken down in health, withdrew to Edinburgh. She was apprehended and cast into the Tolbooth, where she spent the winter. From the Tolbooth she was removed to the Canongate prison. After six months' imprisonment there, she was allowed to reside in the House of Duntarvie, on condition that she would, while living there, have conference with the ministry, but allow none to Jesuits or Mass priests. In March 1631 she was allowed to go to Paisley under condition she would return by a certain day, under penalty of 5000 merks. Shortly after her arrival she died there. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 25.)

5th June 1628.

On 5th June 1628 the Lords ordain Claud Hamilton, brother of the Earl of Abercorn, to be warded in the Castle of Edinburgh. (*R.P.C.*, ii., 327.)

Sir John Ogilvy of Craig. 28th October 1628.

The King requests the President of the Council to apprehend Sir John Ogilvy of Craig and George Ogilvy, his brother, on account of their "oppen profession of Popperie and frequent receiving of Priests and Jesuittis." (Rogers, *Register of Royal Letters*, i., 315.)

Margery Menzies. 15th December 1628.

Margery Menzies was actually in labour. They insisted on her leaving the house. She begged to be permitted to remain until she should be in a condition to remove with her three young children who were in the small-pox. This was not granted. She and the children were carried out into the streets on beds and received into a friend's house. One of the children died of the ill treatment, and difficulties were made about the burial, because his parents were excommunicated; and as soon as the lady recovered she was driven out of the town. (Bishop Geddes, *MS. Memoirs*, 87.)

Excommunications for Popery. 18th December 1628.

Excommunicated for Popery: Dame . . . Countess of Nithisdaill, James Maxwell brother germane to the Erle of Nithisdaill, Johne Maxwell brother natural to the said Erle, Robert Moresoun servitour to the said Countesse, Elizabeth and Margaret Maitlanes, Marjorie Maxwell and Issobell Young her servitrice,

Barbara Maxwell in the Colledge, Jonnet Dalyell thair, Dame Elizabeth Maxwell Lady Hereis, Richard Murrey in Aikiebuss, Johne M'Brair son to Robert M'Brare of Almigill, Agnes Johnestone spous to Williame Hereis of . . ., Elspitt Maxwell spous to Herbert Cunningham, John Little servitour to the Erle of Nithisdaill, Marion Maxwell Lady Wauchop, Johne Hereis of Mabie, Helene Maxwell his spous, Elspitt Maxwell Ladie Kirkconnell, James Maxwell of Kirkconnell brother to the Laird of Kirkconnell,[1] Barbara Maxwell Ladie Mabie elder, Catherine Glendinning Ladie Conheth elder, Agnes and Elspitt Maxwellis her daughters, Elspitt Hereis spous to Johne Hereis of Lochmoir, Bessie Herries spous to Robert Hereis in Milnetoun, Charles Lindsay soune to the Laird of Wauchop, Francis Lindsay brother to the goodman of Maynes, Agnes Browne his spous, Jonnet Browne Lady Aschinsckioch, Jeanne Riddik goodwyfe of Garneborrow, Constance Lindsay spous to John Maxwell of Burtill, Harbert Browne in Trostane, Homer Maxwell of Trostane, Agnes Browne his wyfe, John Brown of Lochhill and . . . Johnstoun his wyffe, Fergus M'Gill in Clauchane, and Catherine Browne spous to Gilbert Browne of Inglistoun, are all excommunicat for Poperie. (*R.P.C.*, ii., 535.)

CITATIONS FOR POPERY. 3rd February 1629 to 14th January 1630.

Orders were issued for the appearance before the Privy Council of the following Catholics: Robert Bisset of Lessendrum; Alexander Gordon of Drumquhaill; Gordon of Tilliesoul; Adam Smith, chamberlain of the Enzie, and his wife Barbara; Malcom Laing;[2] and Adam Strachan, chamberlain to the Earl of Aboyne. Alexander Irving, burgess of Aberdeen; Thomas Menzies of Balgounie; John Spence, notary at Pewsmill; Alexander Leslie, brother to the Laird of Pitcaple; Francis Leslie; William Seton of Blair; Thomas Laing, goldsmith, burgess of Aberdeen. These persons are declared to have been excommunicated, "this long time bygane," charged with hunting and seeking all occasion of exercising their "false religion." The priests named in this document were: Mr Andrew Steven, Mr John Ogilvie, Father Stitchill, Father Hegitts, Capuchin Leslie commonly called *The Archangel;* Mr William Leslie, commonly called *The Captain;* Father Christie, commonly called *The Principal of Dowie,*

[1] James Maxwell of Kirkconnell was afterwards put to the horn. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 407.)

[2] On the tenth day of January 1623, King James had granted a toleration to William Layng in Aberdeene, a Roman Catholic and his family, on the ground of his being a political agent for the Spanish Ambassador (*Letters relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs*, ii., 705).

with two other Christies; Father Brown, son to James Brown at the Nether Bow of Edinburgh; Father Tyrie, three Robertsons, called *Fathers*, Father Robb, Father Patterson, Father Pittendreich, Father Drumbreck, and Dr William Leslie. It is commanded that "none presume to receive, supply, nor furnish meat, drink, house nor harboury to them, nor keep company with them," under the severest penalties. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 22.) In July 1629, it is specially ordered that should the priests or other delinquents fly to fortified places, the Commissioners should "follow, hunt, and pursue them with fire and sword, assiege the said strengths or houses, raise fire and use all other force for apprehending of the said Jesuits and Papists."

(Chambers, *D.A.*, p. 24; *R.P.C.*, iii., 28 and 407, etc.)

Mr Thomas Blackhall's Speeches. 3rd February 1629.

Mr Thomas Blackhall, son to Thomas Blackhall of Ley, Alexander Leslie, brother to the Laird of Pitcaple, and Hercules Guthrie, chirurgeon in Aberdeen, summoned before the Privy Council for railing speeches against the profession of the true religion. . . . John Gordon of Craig, James Forbes of Blacktoun, Thomas Chayne of Raynistoun, William Seatoun of Blair, Alexander Gordon of Tulligray, Patrick Gordon of Tullisoule, and Margaret Gordon goodwife of Cormellat, not only excommunicated for not conforming to the true religion, but are denounced his Majesty's rebels and put to the horn.

(*R.P.C.*, iii., 30 and 31.)

William, Earl of Angus, Education. 12th February 1629.

William, Earl of Angus, to compear before the Privy Council and to bring with him James Douglas his son, and Jean and Margaret Douglas his daughters; that direction may be given for their education and breeding in the grounds of true religion, under the pain of rebellion. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 45.)

Lady Herries Excommunicated.

Lady Herries was excommunicated as a Papist by Mr Melville, minister of Terregles, but took no heed of this "fearful sentence," and remained "proudlie." (Douglas, *Peerage*, iv., 416.)

Herbert Maxwell Banished. 11th March 1629.

Herbert Maxwell of Kirkconnell, Charles Brown in New Abbey, Barbara Maxwell, Lady Mabie, Janet Brown of Lochhill, banished.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 18.)

LORD GRAY, HIS SONE 12th March 1629.

The Council decide that "it be recommentit to the Countess of Menteith, in whose company the Lord Gray his sone remanis, that no personis suspect in religion be sufferit to hant his company, and that she haif a cair that he haunt the kirk." (*R.P.C.*, iii., 91.)

CHILDREN OF PEERS. 1629.

The Marquis of Huntly appeared before the Council to excuse himself for failing to "exhibit" the Papists on his estates. He was told that his excuse could not be accepted, and was ordered to appear again on a certain date, to witness the "sequestration of his daughters," for their better breeding and instruction in the grounds of true religion. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 246, 363, etc.)

11th June 1629.

The Earl of Angus received injunctions to commit his eldest son, James Douglas, to the care of Principal Adamson of Edinburgh University. The youth escaped, and was entrusted to the guardianship of the Duke of Lennox. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 166, etc.)

Angus was, in consequence, summoned before the Council and compelled to sue for pardon. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 220.)

The two daughters of the Earl of Errol, the children of the Laird of Dalgety, and of Gordon of Dunkinty, the daughters of Huntly, Lord Gray and many others, were said to be under vehement suspicion of being corrupted in their religion by remaining in their father's company. The Earl of Nithsdale was commanded by the Council to produce his son, that he might be examined as to his religious sentiments. Lord Gordon also was ordered to place his sons under a tutor approved of by the Archbishop of St Andrews.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 27.)

SIR JOHN CAMPBELL OF CADDELL AND OTHERS. 18th June 1629.

On the 18th of June 1629, the Council issued a charge against Sir John Campbell[1] of Caddell; Alexander Irving, burgess of Aberdeen; Thomas Menzies of Balgownie; Robert Bisset of Lessendrum; John Gordon of Craig; James Forbes of Blackton; Thomas Cheyne of Ranniston; William Seton of Blair; Alexander Gordon of Tilliecrag; Patrick Gordon of Tilliesoul; and Margaret Gordon, goodwife of Cornmellat. The Council ordered "officers-at-arms" to "pursue and

[1] Sir John Campbell gave up his keys, but afterwards had new locks made, fortified his house, and sheltered nuns and priests. He was thereupon summoned (May 1631) to appear before the Council for punishment. (*R.P.C.*, iv., 146.)

take the same rebels (in) their houses, remove them and their families furth thereof, and keep and detain the same in his Majesty's name." (*R.P.C.*, iii., 179; Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 23.)

Sir John Ogilvie of Craig. 27th July 1629.

On the 27th of July Sir John Ogilvie of Craig, who had been warded in Edinburgh Castle for his religion, addressed a petition to the Council. It "humbly sheweth that, for religion, order hath been given for banishing his son, his wife and children, and confining himself in respect of his great age—in a town within Scotland (Cupar): which order they have all humbly obeyed; his son, wife, and poor children having forthwith abandoned the kingdom. His humble suit is, that he may have leave to depart the kingdom to live with his son." (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 58.)

Dr William Leslie. 8th December 1629.

Complaint by the King's Advocate against Dr William Leslie for hearing mass and resetting Jesuits, repairing to the place of Strathbogie, Bogiegeicht, Aboyne, Cannakyle, Gairtlie, Lessendrum, Craig of Auchyndore, and to the houses of William Laing, Thomas Menzies, Alexander Anderson, Walter Robertson, Mr William Lumsden, and Hercules Guthrie, indwellers in Aberdeen, at least to one or other of the said houses, where he heard diverse masses. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 369.)

The Earl of Caithness. 1629.

His Majesty requested by the Privy Council "to give commission to the Earl of Seafort, for persute of the Earl of Caithness, who is ane excommunicate Papist." (*R.P.C.*, iii., 249, etc.)

Sir Alexander Gordon. 1629.

Earl of Sutherland to remove Sir Alexander Gordon of Netherdene, a known Papist, from his office of Sheriff-depute. (*R.P.C.*, v.)

James Forbes of Blacktoun. 14th January 1630.

James Forbes of Blacktoun excommunicated for Popery, also Margaret Fraser, his wife. His house seized by order of the Council for refusing to conform. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 407.)

Alexander and Robert Irving. 4th February 1630.

Letters of His Majesty granting the escheat of the lands of two excommunicate and exiled Papists, Alexander and Robert Irving. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 447.)

LORD GEORGE GORDON. 1st June 1630.

On the 1st of June Lord George Gordon gave the Council satisfactory proofs of his zeal and diligence by presenting a list of Papists with whom he had taken such order as he had deemed fitting and necessary.

Jean Gordon spous to Robert Bisset of Lessendrum, Gordon of Carneborrow, James Gordon of Letterfoure, Margaret Gordon goodwife of Cormellat, Malcome Laing and Mr Adam Strauchane, Angus MacEane, John Gordon of Cohorrache, James Forbes of Blacktoun and his spous, Margaret Gordon spous to Robert Inneis of Elgine, James Con at Knockmylne, Alexander Leslie in Corrache, Margaret Gordon spous to Thomas Menzies of Balgownie, and Mr Alexander Irving his wyfe and brother, stand out in their obstinate disobedience to the Church . . . John Gordon of Craig. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 547.)

CRAIG OF ACHINDOIR. 3rd June 1630.

Craig of Achindoir and his son Letterfourie and his brother, to find caution for their departing out of the kingdom.

(*R.P.C.*, iii., 555.)

JOHN GORDON, ELDER OF CRAIG. 27th July 1630.

The application by John Gordon, elder of Craig, and his son John Craig, that they may be allowed to quit the kingdom and to receive a third of their estate, was refused. (*R.P.C.*, iii., 622.)

3rd August 1630.

Dr William Leslie, Queen's physician, prosecuted for saying and hearing of Mass, ordered to leave the Country by 10th August 1630. (*R P.C.*, iv., p. xi., etc.)

MARGARET GARIOCH. 7th December 1630.

On the 9th of September 1630, Margaret Garioch, "ane poore, aged, decrepit woman (æt. 70)," was confined to the Tolbooth, for "her averseness to the religion presently professed," and afterwards released and banished (*R.P.C.*, iv., 83). The Lords of the Council directed the Bishop of Aberdeen to see to her liberation, and banishment from Scotland; but only on condition of her finding caution to the amount of a thousand merks.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 39.)

JAMES GORDON OF LETTERFOURIE AND OTHERS. 23rd December 1630.

Letters of summons, at the instance of Sir John Hope of Craighall, His Majesty's Advocate, charging the following Catholics to enter their persons in ward at Blackness Castle, within fifteen days, as excommunicate and denounced as rebels:—James Gordon of Letterfourie, Margaret Gordon his wife, William Fraser of Craigtoun, Patrick Gordon of Kincragie, James Forbes of Blacktoun, Alexander Irving of Beltie, Isobel Irving his wife, Alexander Leslie in Gowall, Alexander Gordon apparent of Carneborrow, John Leslie sometime of New Leslie, Alexander Leslie of Conrache, Margaret Gordoun goodwife of Cormellat, William Hay of Fotterletter, Lilias Gordoun his spouse, James Con in Knockemylne, John Gordoun in Cohorrache, Janet Harper his wife. (signed) JA. PRYMROIS.

(*R.P.C.*, iv., 599.)

MAGDALENE WOOD. 23rd December 1630.

Summons in the action against Magdalene Wood and other women, charged with Popery and reset of priests, dealt with by the Council. (*R.P.C.*, iv., 599.)

ROBERT AND ALEXANDER IRVINGS. 28th May 1631.

Robert and Alexander Irvings and Thomas Menzies did abandon our said kingdome and have settled themselffis, wyffs, and families in Deep [Dieppe] in France, . . . where they, being reduced to great povertie, can hardly live; as we are credibly informed.

(*R.P.C.* for 1631, 599.)

SIR JOHN OGILVIE OF CRAIG. 21st September 1631.

On the 21st of September, Sir John Ogilvie of Craig, after enduring imprisonment in Edinburgh for resetting Mass priests, was ordered to go in ward to St Andrews. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 58.)

EARL OF NITHSDALE AND LORD MAXWELL, HIS SON.

17th November 1631.

The Privy Council, considering that the Earl of Nithsdale is "vehemently suspected in his religion," and that the remaining of Lord Maxwell, his son, in his company, may prove very dangerous to the youth, and now in his tender years infect and poison him with opinions, etc., . . . ordered his lordship to "exhibit" his son, that direction may be given for his breeding and education in the true religion. (*R.P.C.*, iv., p. xi., etc.)

PATRICK CON OF ARTROCHIE. 24th November 1631.

Supplication by Patrick Con of Artrochie and Helen Kinnaird his spouse, both excommunicated for their religion, for extension of protection, to put their affairs in order, previous to their quitting the kingdom. (*R.P.C.*, iv., 372.)

BANISHED MEN. 1631.

Patrick Con of Achry, having early yielded to the orders of the Council and retired from the country, was nevertheless excommunicated by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, and those left in charge of his estate appropriated it and threw Patrick into destitution.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 59.)

James Conn of Knockiemilne banished, and goes to France.

Thomas Menzies of Belgowny goes to France with his wife and nine children. He sailed with several other Catholic families, banished because of their religion.

(G. Blackhall, *Narration of Services* (Sp. Club), 185, 213.)

JOHN LESLIE. 3rd October 1632.

John Leslie, "sometyme of New Leslie," is authorized by the King to return to Scotland to settle some affairs.

(*Register of Royal Letters*, ii., 625.)

ANDREW ANDERSON. 17th November 1632.

About September Andrew Anderson, "a busy trafficking papist," was said to occupy himself, in and about Dumfries, in arranging for the sending of gentlemen's sons beyond seas to be educated. Anderson was brought to Edinburgh, and confined in the Tolbooth; but before his case could be dealt with, he died in prison.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 60.)

LORD OLIPHANT. 1632.

Lord Oliphant who was excommunicated for his falling away to Popery, was married to Mary Crichton, sister of the Laird of Frendraucht; and, at the time when he is referred to in the volume, he appears to have been residing at Kinnairdie, with the Lady Frendraucht.[1]

(Spalding Club: *The Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, 223, 227, 232, 237, 238, 242, 244.)

[1] Another lady, who attracted the notice of the Strabane Presbytery, was the Lady Strabane, fourth daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, who was

JOHN GORDON OF CRAIG. 4th February 1633.

John Gordon of Craig banished "for matters of religion," allowed by the King to return to Scotland, for the dispatch of some lawful affairs. (*Register of Royal Letters*, ii., 649.)

ELIZABETH MAXWELL. 27th February 1634.

Elizabeth Maxwell, Lady Kirkconnell, Robert Morrisone, servitor to the Earl of Nithsdale, Jean Maxwell of Conheth, are excommunicated for Popery.

THOMAS MENZIES DRIVEN INTO EXILE. 25th March 1634.

Thomas Menzies, burgess of Aberdeen, driven into exile on account of popery. Some years before now, petitioned the King for leave to return for a few months, to dispose of his estate in order 'that he may abandon the kingdom, without staying any longer to give offence to the present professed religion." License given to Thomas Menzies to arrange his affairs previous to his going into exile. (*R.P.C.*, v., 239.)

LORD GORDON'S CHILDREN. 13th May 1634.

The King's pleasure is that the Lord Gordon's children be brought up Protestants. (*Register of Royal Letters*, ii., 748.)

ALEXANDER BLAIR. 30th May 1634.

Alexander Blair had been "by act of Counsell" made to abandon the kingdom. (*Register of Royal Letters*, ii., 764.)

JOHN BROWN OF LOCHHILL. June 1634.

John Brown of Lochhill, an excommunicate priest, appears before the Privy Council: to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

FATHER CORNELIUS WARD, A FRANCISCAN.

Father Cornelius Ward, a Franciscan, was kept for fifteen months in the strictest confinement in London, less vigorously imprisoned for nine months more, and subsequently banished.

(Bellesheim, iv., 69.)

married to Claud Hamilton, Lord Strabane, in 1632. In November 1643, when she was residing at Lesmoir, the minister of Rhynia was directed to forbid her "the resett of any excommunicat persones quhatsomever, Jesuitis or masse priestis, and to vatche her hous as narrowlie as he could for that effect; and during the time of her abod their, to labour to persuad hir from Poperie how often he could have occasion of conference."

ROBERT RIG. 3rd June 1634.

In June 1634 Robert Rig of Dumfries, charged at the instance of the Presbytery, with having been married to Elspeth Maxwell by a Popish priest on a Sunday at night 17th November 1633 with candle-light, above the bridge of Cluden, in the fields, in presence of four witnesses, who had their faces covered, was sentenced to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Elspeth Maxwell, his wife, to be imprisoned in Dumfries jail. Among her fellow-prisoners were fourteen women, mostly wives of tradesmen in Dumfries . . . for hearing of mass. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 72.)

MARQUIS OF HUNTLY. 1635.

Towards the end of 1635, the aged Marquis of Huntly was "summoned once more before the Council," and "forced to obey," though it was now "the dead of the year, cold, tempestuous, and stormy." He and his lady again travelled "by chariot." On this occasion, he had to submit to imprisonment in the Castle of Edinburgh, in a room where he had no light, and was denied the company of his lady, except on a visit at Christmas.

He was afterwards permitted to live in "his own lodging, near to his Majesty's palace of Holyrood house, with liberty to walk within ane of the gardens of the said palace and no further."

Thence, in June 1636, finding himself growing weaker and weaker, he set out for his northern castle, "in a wand-bed within his chariot, his lady still with him." He died on the journey, 15th June 1636, in an inn at Dundee, whence his body was brought in a horse-litter to Strathbogie, for burial. (J. Spalding, *Troubles*, i., 42.)

ALEXANDER GORDOUNE, CARNEBURRO. 12th April 1637.

The brethren think it very fitting to regrate to the Bishop and Synod, the generall defection to poperye.

It is regrated that Alexander Gordoune of Carneburro doth openly receipt priests, Jesuits, recusants, and ex-communicat persons, and that he doeth baptize his children by priests. The mater is remitted to the judgment of the Bishop and Synod.

(*Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, 15.)

JOHN LEITH. 26th November 1637.

John Leith and Margaret Mortimer, excommunicated.

ROBERT MONTEITH. 1638.

Robert Monteith, the minister of Duddingston, became a Catholic in 1638, and was banished. (Bellesheim, iv., 68.)

ROBERT GORDOUNE. 6th June 1638.

The said daye, compeared Robert Gordoune of Cowdraine, and confessed he had not communicated in the Church of Gartlye these four yeeres bygone, neither resorted to the Church for hearing of the word. And being requyred to purge himself, by his oathe, of the receipt of priests, receiving of the sacrament from them, and in particular, from Mr Thomas Blackhall, Mr John Smyth, Father Crystie, Mr Thomas Abernethye, Father Robisone, and that conforme to an act of Councell, produced and red in his audience, he refused to give his oath. (*Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, 17.)

COLIN CAMPBELL. 28th November 1639.

Queen Henrietta Maria writes on the 28th of November 1639 to Cardinal Barberini on behalf of Colin Campbell, who for the sake of his religion is forced to leave Scotland.

(Record Office, *Roman Transcripts.*)

DUNCAN GORDON. December 1639.

About Christmas 1639 died Duncan Gordon of the family of Lesmore and his wife Agnes Barclay of the family of Gartley, who had been much persecuted for their adherence to the Catholic religion and were reduced to poverty.

(Bishop Geddes, *MS. Memoirs*, 101.)

ALEXANDER IRVING. 1640.

Dominus Alexander Irvinus, exul jam a 16 annis e Scotiâ cum uxore Marjora Menzies ob invictam in fide Catholica constantiam, propter quam in patriâ, ubi domus ejus semper habita est pro domo Societatis, totidem ante exilium annis inaudita passus est, adhuc licet fundo satis opulentus, bonis tamen suis ob exilium et temporum angustias frui non potest.

(New Spalding Club, *Records of Scots Colleges*, 34, n. 267.)

GEORGE GORDON OF GIGHT. 1640.

George Gordon of Gight, described as a "seiklie, tender man," being in Montrose, is taken by Captain Betoun to the Tolbooth of

Edinburgh; his house of Ardressie in Forfarshire plundered, "because he was ane Papist and outstander aganes the good cause."

(Spalding, i., 268, and J. Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, i., 261.)

GILBERT ROSS, GOODMAN OF COCKSTOUNE. 24th December 1640.

On 24th December 1640, Gilbert Ross, minister of Elgin, is appointed to go to the goodman of Cockstoune, and his wife Marie Gordon[1] that she may quyte her obstinacie in poperies, repair to the kirk, and partake of the Sacrament. On 18th February 1641, the goodwife of Cokstoune is to reply within eight days. On 29th April, she promised to go to Church. On 27th January 1642, the minister had good hopes for her conversion. For the present she is sick unto death, so no process is to be used against her. On 27th July 1643, she was to be processed if she be not a constant hearer of the Word. On 10th August she declares herself to be a Protestant and promises to be a constant hearer of the word. On 2nd November she is to be excommunicatad if she do not "constantlie heare the Word." On 15th November she promises to hear the word, "if it should pleas God her health sould serve." On 18th June 1646 the Presbytery ordained that some of the brethren should go and speak with the goodwyf of Cockstoun. On 6th August it was reported she had gone to Balvenie. On 7th May 1647 it was ordained that if the goodwife of Coxton conform not, the process of excommunication is to go on against her. She died, 20th August 1647. In Lhanbryd old Churchyard there is a stone tablet on the side wall of the aisle in her memory, erected by her husband Alexander Innes of Coxstoun.

(*Family of Innes*, 258, quoted by Bulloch, *House of Gordon*, i., lxxvi.)

ROBERT PHILLIP, PRIEST. 1641.

Robert Phillip of Sanquhar, in 1613 was denounced by his own father, carried to Edinburgh, tried, and condemned to lose his head for the crime of being a priest. The sentence was commuted to banishment, and Phillip retired to France.

In 1641, he again suffered imprisonment for the faith. Phillip confessed himself guilty of having returned to Scotland. "Off purpois and intentioun to convert Saules to the Roman religioun." He was accused of having said Mass on one occasion, "in grit Solemmitie, with his Mass claittes, consecrat alter, Mass buik. . . ."

(Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, iii., 252.)

[1] Mary Gordon, daughter of 6th Laird of Gight, wife of Alexander Innes of Coxton.

THE DOWAGER-MARCHIONESS OF HUNTLY. June 1641.

In June 1641, says Spalding, the Dowager-Marchioness of Huntly, a lady (daughter of Esme Duke of Lennox) who had been born and educated in France, and could not now, with one foot in the grave, alter her religion, while neither could her high rank and powerful connections avail to obtain for her toleration. "Thus resolutely she settles her estate, rents, and living, and leaves with woe heart her stately building of the Bog, beautified with many yards, parks and pleasures, closes up the yetts, and takes journey with about sixteen horse; and upon Saturday, yen, the 26th of June, comes to Aberdeen, lodged in Mr Alexander Reid's house; and upon Monday thereafter, she rides frae Aberdeen towards Edinburgh. A strange thing to see a worthy lady, nearly seventy years of age, put to such trouble and travail, being a widow, her eldest son the Lord Marquis being out of the kingdom, her bairns and oyes dispersed and spread—and, albeit nobly born, yet left helpless and comfortless, and so put at by the Kirk, that she behoved to go or else to bide excommunication, and thereby lose her estate and living, whilk she was loath to do. She left her oye [grandson] Charles, son to the Marquis, being but ane bairn, with Robert Gordon, bailie of the Enzie, to be entertained by him, when she came from the Bog; and she also sent another of his bairns, called Lady Mary, to Anna, Countess of Perth, her own eldest sister, to remain with her" (Spalding). The Marchioness died in France in the ensuing year, 2nd September 1542, and was buried at Lyons.

(Wood's *Peerage*, 649, 656; Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 139.)

PETER JOP. 1642.

In the spring of 1642, Peter Jop, an Aberdeen sailor, addressed a petition to the Privy Council praying for the release from prison of his wife, "Isobel Robertson ane excommunicat Papist." The Lords directed that the prisoner should be liberated, but only on condition of conformity to the Kirk, or banishment beyond the seas.

(Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 140.)

SHARP MEASURES WITH PAPISTS. 18th April 1643.

Sharp measures were in these times taken with Papists. "Upon the 18th of April 1643, the young laird of Birkenbog, by commission, accompanied with the baillies of Banff, brought into Aberdeen a priest called Robertson, who was taken by the Sheriff out of Forbes of Blacktown's house, was first taken to Banff, and straitly warded,

and thereafter transported to Aberdeen by the Sheriff and baillies of Banff, and brought into the provincial assembly of New Aberdeen. He was put again into the Tolbooth, and shortly thereafter transported to Edinburgh to the Council, and after some trials in the end he was dismissed to West Flanders, obliged, under the pain of death, never to return back to Scotland again."[1]

(*R.P.C.*, vii., 416.)

JAMES CONN. 11th November 1643.

Upon Saturday the 11th of November 1643, James Conn, in Knockie Miln, was brought into Aberdeen by the Sheriff of Banff, called the laird of Birkenbog. He had been taken and warded in the Tolbooth of Banff nine weeks before for his religion only, being an excommunicate Papist, and that day was conveyed to Aberdeen, where he was warded in the Tolbooth and delivered to Mr William Davidson, Sheriff-Depute. He remained there till the 17th of November, and then was transported by the Sheriff-Depute to the shire of the Mearns, and so forth frae shire to shire till he came to Edinburgh, where he was received and warded.

(*Annals of Banff*, i., 42, 43.)

JESUITS IMPRISONED. 1644 and 1648.

FF. Robert Valens, Alexander Ogilvie, and John Seton were imprisoned in 1644. F. Andrew Leslie in 1648 at Aberdeen.

(G. Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*)

MR WILLIAM BLACKHALL. 24th February 1645.

"About the 24 of February Mr Williame Blackhall ane of the regentis of the Colledge Marschall a prompt scoller, bred, borne and brocht up in Aberdene and never yit out of the countrie refuisit to subscrive the countrie covenant as the rest did, quhairupone he wes deposit of his regency; thaireftir he leivit simply in sober maner within the toune. He is callit in suspitioun of poperie, he is convenit before the sessioun of Abirdene, and at last brocht befoir the presbiterie upone the forsaid 24 Februar, the samen then sitting within the Colledge of Old Aberdene, Mr David Lindsay persone of Balhelvy Moderatour. He is accusit of what religioun he wes of, and of what Kirk he wes. Eftir sum ansueris, at last he planelie and avouitlie declairit he was ane Romane Catholik and wold byd be the samen to the astoneishment of the haill heiraris, being of ane uther professioun

[1] *Annals of Banff*, i., 42; *cf.* Bishop Geddes's *MS. Memoirs.*

as appeirit, and so pertlie (now in tyme of the hottest persecutioun of papistis in this land) to manifest himself so. Alwaies, efter sum dealling with him by the ministrie and bretheren, at last he is excommunicat, and chargit to conforme or leave the countrie. This may be nottit with the fyre of the said Marschall Colledge, as ye have befoir, as ane second viseit; the thrid followis. This Blakhall wes excommunicat upone the 20 of Marche, syne leavis the countrie."

(Spalding, *History of Troubles*, etc., 1624-1645, ii., 10, 11.)

LADY ANNE GORDON AND OTHERS. July 1648.

About the beginning of July, Lady Anne Gordon, Lady of Pitfodels, resolved to go to France to enjoy the free exercise of the Catholic religion. She took with her one of her younger sons. "She perished—with one of her younger sons—by storm of weather, upon the cost of Holland. Besides many other passengers there dyed in that ship two of the Earl of Wintoun his sones,[1] and three of the Earl of Angus his daughters, by James Duke of Lennox his sister."

(Gordon, *Scots Affairs*, I. liv., and *Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, 542.)

LORD GRAY. 1649.

In April 1613, the Archbishop of St Andrews reported to the Synod that Lord Gray had submitted himself, and had taken the communion "in the paroche kirk of St Androis." The Synod triumphed thus far; but in 1649, thirty-six years after, Lord Gray was discovered to be a rank Papist, and was excommunicated by the Commission of the General Assembly, and had a fine of £1500 imposed on him by Cromwell's Act (1651) of grace and pardon.

(Wood, 672; C. Rogers, *Scotland, Social and Domestic*, 316.)

EARL OF ABERCORN EXCOMMUNICATED. 1649.

James, second Earl of Abercorn, was, on account of Popish tendencies, excommunicated by the Commission of the General Assembly, and ordered to depart from the kingdom, His Countess was, at the instance of the Church, subjected to three years' imprisonment in Edinburgh.

(C. Rogers, *Scotland, Social and Domestic*, 317.)

[1] The Hon. W. Seton, son of George, 3rd Earl of Wintoun, born 1638. The Hon. Christopher Seton, brother of preceding, born 1631. A great scholar.

LORD LINTON EXCOMMUNICATED. 1649.

Lord Linton, son of the Earl of Traquair, was excommunicated and imprisoned for marrying Henrietta Gordon, daughter of the lately executed Marquis of Huntly, and relict of George, Lord Seton, she being an excommunicat papist. Lord Linton was fined in £5000 Scots. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 189.)

MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS. October 1648.

The Marquis of Douglas, formerly Earl of Angus, was a Catholic, and his wife was a daughter of the Marquis of Huntly, had been imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle and his estate was embarrassed with a fine of 50,000 merks. In October 1650 he appeared before the Presbytery of Lanark to answer sundry challenges: "for not keeping his son at the school with a sufficient pedagogue approven by the Presbytery; for not delivering his daughter to some Protestant friend under the approbation of the Presbytery; for not calling home his son who is in France."

(*Register of the Presbytery of Lanark;* Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 190.)

LADY FRENDRAUGHT. June 1650.

The Lady Frendraught,[1] who lived at Kinnairdie in the parish of Aberchirder, after an incessant harassment of fourteen years, in June 1650, subscribed the covenant and abjured in words the faith she still held in her heart; but she repented, and in 1654 she was excommunicated. (Chambers, *D.A.*, ii., 158.)

MR WM. LUMSDEN. 8th July 1650.

Mr Wm. Lumsden kept prisoner in Aberdeen. Robert Irwine and his wife, with one or two more, apprehended also on Palm Sunday, imprisoned in Edinburgh. Mr Ballantine, who had said Mass for them, escaped very narrowly.

(F. Robert Gall's Letter of 8th July 1650, printed above, 52.)

EARL OF WINTOUN. October 1650.

This was a sore time for the southern counties of Scotland. "The good Earl of Winton, to whose well-furnished table all the noblemen and gentlemen had ever been welcome, was pitifully abused by them; his fair house of Seaton made a common inn; himself threatened to be killed, if they had not whatever they called for, his rich furniture and stuff plundered." (Patrick Gordon of Ruthven, *Short Abridgment of Britain's Distemper*, 212.)

[1] Daughter-in-law of the Lady Frendraught formerly noticed.

FATHER OGILVIE IMPRISONED. 1650.

Father Alexander Ogilvie imprisoned in London.

(Oliver, *Collectanea, S.J.*, 1st edit., 19.)

FATHER JAMES MACBRECK.

Father James Macbreck was a close prisoner in Edinburgh jail. After eleven months' confinement, he was banished, and retired to Douay. (Oliver, 16.)

SIR ALEXANDER IRVING OF DRUM. 26th January 1652; March 1654.

Sentence of excommunication was to be pronounced against Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, and against Paul Colinsone and Marjorie Inglis, his spous, for "defection from the trew Protestant reformed religion." (*Aberdeen Kirk Session Record*, 117.)

SIR GILBERT MENGZIES OF PETFODDELLIS. 9th August 1652.

"The Session all in ane voice, declairit Sir Gilbert Mengzies of Petfoddellis, Knicht, contumacious, for his not appearing to answer for his defection from the trew Protestant religion. . . ."

James Robertson, younger, and Alexander Gordoune, servitour to Pitfodels, Thomas Moncurr, and Robert Smith excommunicated.

(*Ibid.*, 118, 121, 122.)

LORD OLIPHANT. 17th November 1652.

At Botarie on the 17th of November . . . Lord Oliphant summoned for apostacie to Poperie and keeping companie with excommunicat papists, was called but compeired not, therefore ordained to be summoned pro 2°.

(Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, *Book of Chronicles of Keith*, 105.)

FATHER CHRICHTON. 1st April 1653.

James Chrichton, Jesuit, indicted for saying Mass and convicted of saying Mass in April last, banished.

THE LAIRD OF CRAIG. 18th October 1653.

The Laird of Craig being challenged for poperie, it is reported by the Presbyterie of Awfuird, that hie hade said that hie hade never been of our Church, neither mynded to bie of our Church. The assemblie recommendeth to them to insist and to proceed against him. (*Selections from the Register of the Synod of Aberdeen*, 225.)

Fr. John Ogilvie, S.J. 1653.

Fr. John Ogilvie, S.J., was a prisoner in London.

(Oliver, 16, 20.)

Father William Grant, S.J. 1654.

In the year 1654, Father William Grant, S.J., was arrested and imprisoned first at Aberdeen, then removed to Edinburgh. He was finally banished. (*Annual Letters, S.J.*, 1649-1656, p. 60 *sup.*)

James Gordon of Achlochrees. 14th January 1655.

The said day the minister did intimat ye excommunication of James Gordon of Achlochrees for his poprie.

(T. Mair, *Records of the Parish of Ellon*, 115.)

Gilbert Collisone. 14th January 1656.

"Sentance of excommunication the greater pronounced against Gilbert Collisone, Thomas Meingzies, Jeane Cleave, and Margaret Oliphant, for their poperie. . ."

(*Aberdeen Kirk Sessions Record*, 136, 137.)

Margaret Oliphant. 9th May 1656.

Margaret Oliphant, Lady Balgony, excommunicate in Aberdeen for poperie. . . . Paul Colisone, late bailzie in Aberdeen, excommunicate for poperie; Patrick Lumsden, sone to William Lumsden, excommunicate for poperie; Francise Irving off Govills, and . . . Menzeis, younger of Balgowny, excommunicate in Aberdeen for poperie, and for educating ther children in that way.

(*Selection from the Registers of the Synod of Aberdeen*, 234.)

Thomas Moncurr and Robert Smith. 26th January 1657.

"The sentance of excommunicatioun the greater pronounced yesterday againest Thomas Moncurr and Robert Smith, priest, for thair apostacie and defectioune from the true Protestant religioun conforme to the Presbitries ordour."

(*Aberdeen Kirk Sessions Record*, 139.)

The Countess of Nithsdale. 1657.

The most illustrious Countess of Nithsdale, being summoned with other Catholics to appear before the Court, obeyed the call, and the articles of faith having been read over, the judges asked her whether she repudiated them. She replied: "You must first cut off

the hand from my arm, my head from my kneck, draw all the blood from my veins before you tear from my breast my belief in these articles of religion."

(Cf. *Annual Letters of the Scottish Mission*, for 1657-58, p. 69 *sup.*)

FRANCES MAN. 23rd March 1657.

"Compearit Frances Man; and beeing accusit for poperie, confest she was a papist, and would awowe and professe the same, and that she was a Romane Catholick, and did not haunt ordinances; and, beeing demandit if shee would quyte and forsake poperie, answered not. The sessioune offerred her a tyme to be advysed thairwith. She answerred, she would not have a tyme, seeing she hes bene a papist thir seven yearres, and hes served popishe personnes during that space, and absolutlie refused to be reclaimed from that religioune. The sessioune appointed the moderator to acquaint the prisbitrie with the matter, that they may give out the sentance against her."

(*Aberdeen Kirk Sessions Record*, 141, 142.)

WILLIAM BALLANTYNE. 1658.

William Ballantyne (Ballenden), Prefect Apostolic, son of a Scotch minister, converted at Paris, was arrested by Cromwell's orders, imprisoned for nearly two years, then banished, but he returned to Scotland. (*Dict. of Nat. Biography*, iii., 88.)

ANNE CRICHTON, LADY MELDRUM. 1658.

Anent the Lady Meldrum, Anna Crightoun, relict of umquhill, William Seatoun of Meldrum, who is maryed with George Ogilvy, ane excommunicate papist and by a preist; as is alleadged, thie Assemblie ordaynes thee Presbyterie of Gairioch to process the said Anna Crightoun for her scandalous cohabitation with this said George Ogilvy, and for unlawfull alleadged marriage.

(*Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*, 243.)

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